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C A L E B D' A N V E R S,
of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

V O L. V.



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THE
CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 151. SATURDAY, May 24, 1729.

Volvenda Dies en attulit ultro.



HE Freedom of Parliament is so essentially necessary to the Preservation of our Liberties and the Security of our antient Constitution, that every true Lover of his Country must reflect with Pleasure on the glorious *Act*, lately passed, for the farther Suppression of BRIBERY and CORRUPTION in the Election of our Representatives.

An honourable Member of the House of Commons observes very justly (in his Speech against the Earl of Macclesfield) that Corruption is a Crime, in private Life the most detested, and in publick Persons of the most malignant Influence to the State. It deprives the Crown of that solid Strength and Grandeur, that shining Lu-

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stre and Beauty, which a just Execution of the Laws reflects upon it. It disarms the People of that Security and Safety, which naturally flow upon them from an impartial and uninterrupted Administration of Justice; the Consequence of which will ever be, the Crown will lose that proper Reverence and Veneration from the People, which are its Due; and the Subjects, restless and uneasy for want of Justice, will lay hold on the first Opportunity of throwing off Allegiance its self.

If Corruption then is of such pernicious Consequence in the *Administration of Justice*, how terrible and destructive must it be, when it spreads amongst the Generality of the People, and creeps into the *Fountain of Justice*, the *Legislature* it self? The *selling of an Office*, or the Male-Execution of a good Law, in some particular Instances, (tho' such Practices ought always to be punished and prevented as far as possible) may not be totally inconsistent with the general Current of Equity and Justice; whereas *bad Laws* (that is, Laws originally obtained by *Corruption*, to serve private Ends, without any Regard to publick Good) cannot possibly produce any other Effects than universal *Injustice* and *Oppression*. *Corruption* therefore in the *Legislature* is primarily to be suppressed; and as This is too often and too naturally the Consequence of *Corruption* in the *Election* of Legislators, a wise People, desirous of maintaining their Liberties, cannot take too great or too frequent Precautions against this popular and almost epidemical Evil.

That such corrupt Methods of *Election* have been too much in Fashion, in some late Reigns, is, I think, evident and undeniable, not only from Experience and the frequent Complaints of *petitioning Candidates*, as well as from some Instances of Members, who have been *expell'd* on this Account; but from the *Nature, Design* and *Title* of this Bill it self. We are therefore authoriz'd, by our *Representatives*, to say that *Bribery* and *Corruption* have prevail'd, almost uni-

universally prevail'd to so scandalous a Degree, that it became necessary and incumbent upon them to endeavour, by the most effectual *Penalties* and *Discouragements*, to suppress an Evil, which hath ended in the Destruction of the most famous and flourishing States, that ever shone in History.

The *lower House of Parliament* is the Representative of all the *Commons of Great Britain*; who, by our happy Constitution, compose a third Part of the *Legislature*. The Design of its Institution was to maintain the Rights and Liberties of the *People* against the Inroachments of the *Crown*, or the Power of the *Nobility*, which have too often united their Strength against us; and to relieve us from the Oppressions of *tyrannical* and *rapacious Ministers*.

If ever therefore this great Bulwark of *popular Liberty* should be thrown down by *Force*, or undermined by *Corruption*, the very Essence of our Constitution would be lost, and we should be no longer a *free People*.

History hath, with good Reason, branded one Parliament, in a former Reign, with the Name of a *Rump Parliament*; many of the lawful Members having been secluded by *Force*, because they would not fall into the Measures of those Times; and I think that a *pack*, *mercenary Parliament*, composed of *Mock-Representatives*, chosen by the Influence of a *corrupt* and *corrupting Minister* (such as the *Pensionary Parliament* of King *Charles the second*) may as justly be stigmatiz'd with the same infamous Title; for what real Difference is there between the Case of Those, who are secluded by *Force*, and of Those, whose honest Endeavours are render'd fruitless by a Majority of *Creatures*, who follow their Leader blindfold, without any Regard to Truth, or Reason, or the Merits of the Cause?

What Mr. *Locke* says, in his Treatise upon *civil Government*, concerning *Branch of Trust in a Prince*, may

be as justly and more strongly apply'd to a *corrupt Minister*.

“ He acts also contrary to his Trust, when he either employs the *Force, Treasure* and *Offices* of the Society, to *corrupt the Representatives* and gain them to his Purposes; or openly *pre-engages the Electors*, and prescribes to their Choice such, whom He hath, by *Solicitations, Threats, Promises*, or otherwise, won to his Designs, and employs them to bring in such, who have *promised before-hand* what to vote and what to enact. Thus to *regulate Candidates* and *Elections*, and to *new model the Ways of Election*, what is it but to *cut up the Government by the Roots*, and *poison every Fountain of publick Security*? For the People having reserved to Themselves the Choice of their Representatives, as a Fence to their Properties, could do it for no other End, but that They might always be *freely chosen*, and so chosen *freely act and advise*, as the Necessity of the Commonwealth and publick Good should, upon Examination and mature Debate, be judged to require.—— To prepare such an Assembly as This, and endeavour to get up the *declared Abettors of his own Will* for the *true Representatives* and *Law-makers* of the Society, is certainly *as great a Breach of Trust*, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to *subvert the Government*, as is possible to be met with.”

It would be no difficult Task to specify some *such Ministers*; who, by the absolute Power of *opening the Floodgates of a Treasury*, and of disposing *Honours* and *Employments*; have late in their Closets, and nominated the Members of above half the Boroughs and Corporations in the Kingdom—— But I chuse to forbear mentioning them, lest I should be suspected of drawing unreasonable *Parallels*.

This Practice of *Corruption* (especially with *publick Money*) hath been held of such dangerous Consequence, in

in all Ages, that we have had several good Laws made to prevent it; but through the Subtlety and Depravity of Mankind (who are always very industrious in discovering *Loop-holes* and *Evasions*,) They have had, God knows, but very little Effect.

At length (to the immortal Honour of a *British Parliament*) an *Act* is passed, and will soon come in Force, which, it is to be hoped, will prove fully efficacious to this great End. The *Penalties*, at least, are so severe, and the *Provisions* so wisely made, as well as clearly express'd, that I think it impossible for all the Inventions of crafty and ill-designing Men totally to elude the Force of them.

The Advantages, which we may reasonably promise our selves from *this Act*, will appear upon the least Reflection.—— The *old Country Interest* of the best Families in the Kingdom (which hath lately been almost swallow'd up by *Stock-jobbers* and *Monied-Upstarts*) will return to its former, natural Channel; the Consequence of which will be, that those Persons will be sent up to Parliament, who are best known in the Places, for which They are chosen, and most acquainted with their true Interest; whereas such Persons, before *this Act* was made, however considerable their natural Interest might be, were seldom returned, unless They bought their Election in the same Manner with Those, who came from Town; by which Means They encumber'd their Estates, and brought Themselves into a Dependency on Men of Power, to the Ruin often of their *Fortunes*, as well as their *Morals*.—— The Landed Gentlemen of small Estates, the Freeholders and substantial Tradesmen will have great Reason to hope that such Members will not give into unnecessary Taxes, and Impositions, nor repose an unlimited and unreasonable Confidence in *Ministers*, but grant Subsidies frugally, and see them faithfully apply'd.—— Even the lowest of the People, who have been most accusom'd to this vile Traffick, will find their Advantage in the

present Law. The Money They receive, on these Occasions, hath been seldom seen to do them any Good. It commonly goes as it comes; and only habituates them to a Course of Drunkenness and Idleness; of which They are very seldom able to break Themselves, when this short Scene of Feasting and Iniquity is over. Thus They frequently not only sell their Country, but ruin Themselves and their Families; whereas the Execution of *this Bill* will intitle them to the constant good Offices of the neighbouring Gentlemen, who desire to serve their Country in this great Station. This will naturally create a Dependence on each other, which ought always to be the Cement, that holds together the *Electors* and the *Elected*.

I have not Room, in this Paper, to expatiate on all the Benefits, that will probably accrue to us by *this Act*, which is certainly the most *national Act* that hath pass'd since the *Habeas Corpus*; and I have the Pleasure to observe, that *Lords and Commons* united their Endeavours, and seem'd to vye with each other, who should contribute most to so glorious and seasonable a Work.

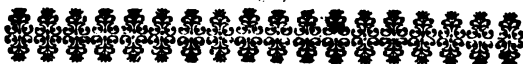
It is matter of great Consolation to us, amidst all our present, unhappy Circumstances, to see a *British House of Commons* striking at the Root of almost all political Evils, *Corruption*; and vindicating Themselves, as well as the Honour of their Country, from an Imputation, which hath long lain upon us.

Our *Representatives* therefore have fully done their Duty. It now lies upon us to preserve it in its utmost Strength, and to free ourselves from the common Reflection, that We make the *best Laws*, and execute them the *worst*. I hope therefore to see *this Bill* common in every Family in *England*; for it wants only to be read and understood, in order to be valued. Let us, my Countrymen, watch over it and defend it, with all our Vigour, as the great *Palladium* of our Liberties. Let us set a Mark upon every Man, who shall

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shall endeavour to elude it, as an Enemy to his Country; and look upon every Attempt to *explain* it away, in any Manner, as an Attempt to destroy the Rights and Privileges of the *Commons of Great Britain.*

D.



N^o 152. SATURDAY, May 31, 1729.



AM very sorry to find the noble Science of *Astrology* sunk into such Contempt as it is at present; the Professors of it being treated as *Enthusiasts* or *Impostors*, who are either egregiously imposed upon Themselves, or make it their Business to impose upon others. *Astrology* was formerly a Study, in which the greatest *Princes* and *Heroes* were proud of being thought to excel; but through the deplorable Incredulity of the present Age, all Pretences to Knowledge in this *occult Science* are look'd upon as the Effects of a dis-temper'd Brain, or a criminal Design to cheat ignorant People out of their Senses and their Money.

The late, celebrated Dr. *John Partridge* was certainly the greatest Adept in this mysterious Art, that our Nation can boast of, since *Merlin*, of immortal Memory; and yet it cannot be forgot in what Manner He was treated by 'Squire *Bickerstaff*' and some other licentious Scoffers, his Contemporaries, on this Account. They made a Jest of his Prædictions, and endeavoured to deprive the World of the Benefit of them, by industriously publishing a Report that He was *dead*, and insisting upon it in Print; but such is the Force

Force of Truth, that the *Doctor* triumphed over all their petulant Wit, and not only continued to oblige us with his *Almanacks*, whilst he was actually living, but hath likewise done the same, ever since he hath been naturally defunct. *Estam mortuus loquitur.*

Old Men, who have had the Advantage of Years and Experience, are naturally more ready to give Credit to these *oracular Sages* than younger Persons; and I cannot dissemble the great Veneration, which I always had for *Doctor Partridge*, both *living* and *dead*, on account of his judicious Predictions, and that inflexible Zeal, which He hath constantly express'd for the *Protestant Religion* and the *present Establishment*.

His Skill in *Astrology* and Penetration into *future Events* are, I think, put beyond all Dispute by the Predictions published in his *Almanack* for this Year; which I will beg Leave to transcribe (for the Conviction of *Gain-sayers*) in the *Doctor's* own Words and Order, with a few short Observations.

JANUARY.

" This Year begins with a Conjunction between
" *Saturn* and *Venus*, accompanied with *Mars*, in *Saturn's* own House; by which it plainly appears,
" that the Powers of *Europe* are not so much inclin'd
" to *Peace* as could be wish'd.

" The old plotting Rogue *Saturn*, being in Conjunction with *Mars*, portends *no Good*.

" All the Councils of *Europe* will be very hush this
" Month; and the *Romish* Priests will continue to
" pervert a great many from the Faith.

Observations.

" These Predictions were punctually fulfilled in every
" Article.

FEBRUARY.

" The Aspects of this Month shew that *Jesuits* a-
" broad, and *Malecontents* at home agree to hinder
" the Congress from settling the Peace of *Europe*.

Observations.

Observations.

That This was exactly accomplish'd, We have the Authority of an eminent Politician, who assured us in a certain Assembly, that nothing had obstructed the Success of our Negotiations so much as the Obstinacy of our Enemies abroad (who are known to be all Papists or Jesuits) and the Encouragement, which hath been given them by Malecontents and Incendiaries at home.

MARCH.

" The Effects of *Mars*, being posited in his own House in *Aries*, begin now to appear; for there is nothing talked of but *Wars*. However *Jupiter*, being well dignified in his Triplicity, signifies, that there will be nothing done this Spring, but *Threats* and *Pretensions* will be tabled. When they will be determined, it is very hard to discover.

Observations.

It is well known, that nothing was talk'd of this Month but Wars; neither hath any thing been done this Spring; and I believe every Body will agree with the Doctor, that it is very hard to discover when Affairs will be determined.

APRIL.

" The Conjunction of the *Sun* and *Mars* signifies that some *Man of Authority* will hold the *Ballance* of Peace and War, and will be joined by *Jupiter*.
 " I hope *POPISH PRIESTS* will have no Power over us.
 " There will be great *Murmurings* this Month.
 " *Merchants* will be frighted with the Noise of *War*; but there will be nothing of it but Noise.

Observations.

In the first Paragraph, the Doctor observes that some Man of Authority will hold the Ballance of Peace and War; and, in the second, hopes that POPISH PRIESTS will have no Power over us; by which He seems to insinuate his Fears that a POPISH PRIEST will hold the Ballance of Peace and War; which God forbid!
Nobody

Nobody can forget that there were great Murmuring^s this Month, both within Doors and without; and that the Merchants were frighted with the Noise of War.

MAY.

“ There seems to be rough Work cut out for This and some succeeding Months. Several Configurations appear of *ill Consequence* to the Countries thereby signified; and tho’ by the Interposition and Mediation of *well-wishing Princes*, some Things might be brought to *better Accommodation*, all seems at present to be of *little Use*.

“ There is no Medicine, that will cure all Distempers.

“ And *Plotting, Robbing and Thieving* cannot be cured, but by those Medicines, which the *Law* hath prescribed.

Observations.

The present Situation of Affairs is *too strong a Proof* of the *Veracity* of this *Prædiction*; for though some well-wishing Princes have interposed and mediated with all their Interest, in order to bring Things to a better Accommodation, yet all seems to have been hitherto of but little Use.

The Doctor insinuates very strongly, in the two last Paragraphs, that some notorious Thieves and Robbers (who are the worst Kind of Plotters against the State) call for the immediate Severity of the Law.

JUNE.

“ The Aspects of the Planets, this Month, shew prodigious Attempts both at Home and Abroad. *Distempers, Disorders and Dissatisfaction* prevail among Mankind; but *Time* to some, and *Death* to others will soon cure all those Maladies.

“ There is a quartile Aspect between *Saturn* and *Mars*, which betokens no Good; but *Saturn* is retrograde, therefore weak in the House of *Jupiter*, and *Jupiter* in the House of the *Moon*.

“ A GREAT LADY dies this Month.

Observations.

Observations.

What We have observed upon the preceding Months (which are already elaps'd) is justified by Experience; but as we do not pretend to any Skill in the Science of Astrology, we must leave the Doctor's Prædilections on This and the following Months without any Remarks.

JULY.

" The Congress of the Planets, towards the latter
 " End of the last Month, will presently begin to shew
 " their Effects. Mercury, being in Conjunction with
 " the Sun in Leo, shews that some great News from
 " abroad may be expected; and that there are some
 " amongst us, at or near this Time, who seem wea-
 " ry with fruitless Expectations, and are obliged to sit
 " down under no small Discontent, and are obliged to
 " Time only for the Discovery of their vain Attempts.

AUGUST.

" There is not much to be said of the Effects the
 " celestial Bodies may produce this Month, but that
 " They incline rather to Peace than War. Trade be-
 " gins to lay aside its Fears, and the Merchants send
 " out the Product of our fruitful Soil, and the La-
 " bour of the Poor; and bring home, in Exchange,
 " Things only proper for pampering the Rich, and
 " to add to their Luxury.

" The old Story of Plotting is not intirely out of
 " Doors. Therefore take Care that They make no-
 " thing of it but Words.

SEPTEMBER.

" This Month seems to produce several very good
 " Signs for old England. She will continue to hold
 " the Ballance of Trade, of Power, and Justice and
 " Equity in her Hands.

" Some Powers grow jealous of one another, and it
 " is like even to come to That, They will trust one
 " another no farther than They are able to see them
 " distinctly. I shall not meddle to determine how
 " far this Jealousy may proceed; but Time, that is
 " the

" the Discoverer of all Events, will proclaim to the
 " Ears of the World—I wish it do not affect Us.

OCTOBER.

" The Death of some *old Statesmen, Officers, or Per-*
 " sons eminent in *dispensing the Laws of Nations*, seems
 " to prepare the Way for the Rising of *others*.

" The Affairs of this Month seem to concern *Spain*
 " in their military and martial Negotiations; *Franco*
 " in every Thing that relates to her Government and
 " Quiet. *Germany* is affected with some Diffensions,
 " either about settling their Government, or about
 " some Points of Religion.

" *London* is also disturbed with some Divisions. *Un-*
 " *easy, murmuring Spirits* are still trying their Tricks
 " to destroy their own Quiet.

NOVEMBER.

" The Aspects, this Month, threaten us with some-
 " thing from *abroad*; which is, in no Case, agree-
 " able to the *English Laws*, their *Liberties*, or *Religion*.
 " However, it seems only to be a Storm. It will
 " soon blow over, and the Sun then will cherish us
 " as before.

DECEMBER.

" This Year *ends*, as it *began*, only with the Noise
 " of *Peace* and *War* alternately, without *either* of them
 " being *certain*.

" There seems still to be some *Projects* and *Pro-*
 " *jections* on Foot; and These attended too with some-
 " thing of *Violence*; for the Rays and Aspects are ge-
 " nerally not only from *violent* Parts of Heaven, but
 " from *human Signs*.

" Also, here is *some cursed Piece of Roguery at the*
 " *Door*; but I judge, it will be discovered; and the
 " best way to prevent any more *Plots*, is to *hang* all
 " you catch, by what NAME or TITLE soever digni-
 " fied or distinguished."

I will make only a very short Remark or two on
 those *Prædictions*, which are yet *unaccomplished*.

The

The *Doctor*, according to the usual Ambiguity of *Astrological Writers*, gives us Hopes, in his Remarks on some ensuing Months, that the celestial Bodies incline more to *Peace* than *War*; that *Trade* will revive, and *old England* will continue to hold the *Ballance* of *Europe* in her Hands. But I am afraid that these Predictions relate only to some *outward Appearances* or *Promises* of these good Things; because He closes his Remarks on this Year with the melancholy Prediction, *that it will end as it begun, only with the Noise of Peace and War alternately, without either of them being certain.*

He likewise prognosticates something *violent* at the latter End of this Year; and tells us, that a *curfed Piece of Roguery is at the Door*. Whatever it is, I am very glad to hear that it is likely to be *discovered*; and that it will break out so near the Meeting of *Parliament*; especially, since it is intimated that some Persons of *Dignity* and *Distinction* are concerned in it; and I entirely agree with the *Doctor*, that the *best Way to prevent any more such Plots and Roguery, is to hang all We catch*, let them be never so great.

I will conclude with praying, in the *Doctor's* own Words, *that old England's Guardian Angel will protect Her against Jesuits, Plots, Papists, Popes and Pretenders.*

D.





N^o 153. SATURDAY, June 7, 1729.

THE Regard I have for a *certain Person*, to whole Use and Service many of my Lucubrations have been principally dedicated, had almost prevailed upon me never to have mentioned again the words, *Wolfey, Menzikoff, Mackbeash, Catiline, Sejanus*, &c. *He* having taken a particular Fancy, from time to time, to declare that *He* was allegorically meant under all these Titles; but as the Favour I am to ask of the Publick this Day, in behalf of my Nephew, will oblige me often to use the Word *Sejanus*, I desire *He* will be so good, this Time, as not to apply it to *Himself*; or imagine, when I talk of Mr. *Cibber* and his *Acting*, that I intend *Him* and *his Transactions*.

I take the Liberty therefore of recommending, in this Paper, my Brother's Son, *Theophilus D'Anvers*: He has lately given me an Occasion of doing This, which I neither expected nor desired. Some Years are now past, since I sent him to the University of *Oxford*. I designed the young Man for the *Law*; but I find that there is something in his Complexion, which opposes my Intentions. Indeed, he seems to me to have apply'd himself wholly to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*. He made me a Visit the other Morning; and I perceived, by his Manner, that he had something he was almost afraid to communicate; where, after he had sat silent a few Minutes, he blushed, and pulled out of his Pocket a Manuscript, which I found was intitled, *the Fall of SEJANUS*. He told me, he had ventured to alter, or rather to modernize the
the

the Language of this Piece, from our celebrated *Ben Johnson*. As I believe he chose this Subject in compliance to his *Uncle*, I could not be displeased in my Heart. However, I advised him, whasever his success might be, to apply for the future to more useful Business; for Poetry, though it might be a genteel Amusement, was a very unprofitable Profession. I asked him for which House he designed his Play. He replied immediately, the *old one*; for he could not hope to be *fortunately prohibited*; and he assured me very warmly, that no Man alive could play the Character of *Sejanus* but Mr. *Cibber*.

I have, said I, young Kinsman, a great Regard for Mr. *Cibber's* Performances as an *Actor*. In some Parts he does mighty well; as in the *Buffoon*, the *Coxcomb*, the *Peru*, the *Impudent*, the *Barnster*. He tops the Part of the *Sharper*. He is *felonious* within, or out of the reach of the *Law*, with a becoming and a natural Grace; and accordingly, he has generally the Applause of the House. I have heard, indeed, that he has sometimes *hired* Voices to applaud Him, and not improperly; since in that very Character he has put the *† Doctors* upon his Audience. The Part of *Brazen* seems likewise to be naturally design'd for Him; but in *Gibber* he is all Perfection. He plunders with an Air adroit, genteel, and intrepid. There is a Gallantry and a Frankness in his Behaviour, even to the People, whom he injures. He persuades them that he hath a Right to rob them; and he takes upon him very pleasantly an *authoritative* and *decisive* Behaviour, as if what he did were perfectly agreeable to, and justifiable by the Laws of his Country; and tho' his Gang second him pretty well, he sustains manifestly the Character of their Chief; *supermines omnes*. But give me leave to say, that he very seldom fills the Scene in the *serious Character*. We know his Purposes, before He speaks, by his Gesture, and his Voice.

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† *A Sharper's Cant Word for false Dice.*

He is no *Politician*; not even in his *Looks*. He cannot disguise them. For Example, in *Syphax*, when he is tempting his Prince to Dishonour, he does it with *open* and *risible* Muscles, tho' his Master himself tells him that he observes his Looks are *fallen* and *overcast with Care and Discontent*. There is something in the Dignity of *Wolsey*, that he does not support. He submits indeed to the Passions of the *King* with becoming Servility; but he very faintly maintains his Character against the *great* and *honest Men*, who oppose him. In Cardinal *Beaufort*, he still wants Dignity; and we cannot believe so *protest a Knave*, even in outward Appearance, can have any weight with the *King* or his *Royal Consort*, or even the *lowest* of the *People*, against the Counsels of the most wise and upright Statesman, perhaps, that ever was; I mean the *good Duke of Gloucester*. I grant you, *Nephew*, said I, that in this Character of *Sejanus*, Mr. *Gibber* will do better than in the rest; but you must take particular care, that he does not play his *Index expurgatorius* upon you, or your Author. He has, I must tell you, a very laudable hatred to the Writings of the *Antients*; and perhaps, as *old Ben* is by Time removed a little from us, he may look on him with an evil Eye. But to our Purpose——Since the *young Man* has desired that I would recommend a Specimen of his Work; I think I cannot do it better than by giving the Publick the VIIth Scene of the last Act.

This Scene is in the *Senate House*. The Senate was conven'd by Letters from the *Emperor*, who was then retir'd to *Caprea*, and it was purposely given out that the Business of their Meeting was to confer the *Tri-bunitial Power* upon *Sejanus* that Day, at the Instance of *Tiberius*, by his Letters, which were to be opened and read in full Senate——This *great Minister*, who some Time before seemed to be declining, was now once again rising to the Zenith of his Power; and his

his Favourites, who were falling off apace like true Slaves, as soon as they thought that he was again in Favour, redoubled their Fawnings at their Master's Feet. This Scene is so natural, and the Characters are so well drawn, that I beg Leave to transcribe it wholly.—

The Names of the Senators, on the Side of *Sejanus*, are *Trio*, *Haterius*, *Sanguinius*, *Cotta*, *Regulus*, *Pomponius*, and *Latiaris*; and Those, against *Sejanus*, are *Lepidus* and *Arruntius*.

Trio. *Sejanus* is a noble, bounteous Lord.

Hat. He is so; and most eloquent and wise.

Trio. This Dignity will make him worthy.

Pomp. ——— Above *Caesar*.

Hat. *Caesar* is but the Rector of an *Isle*.

He of the *Empire*.

Trio. ——— He now will have the Power,

! More to reward than ever.

Cotta. ——— Let us take Heed

We be not slack in giving him our Voices

Lat. Not I.

Sanq. Nor I.

Cotta. ——— We'll hear no prating Orator.

The readier we seem to give him Honours,

We bind him stronger to us.

Hat. ——— Right, my Lord.

It is the safest Way to hold our Places.

Sanq. Aye, and get more; more Places and more Pensions.

Pomp. I would not lose the Share I hope to have In his new Fortunes for my Patrimony.

Lat. See how *Arruntius* sits, and *Lepidus*!

Ah! They'll repent their ill-sim'd Opposition.

Trio. Let them alone. They will be mark'd upon.

Sen. I'll do as others do.

Sen. And I——

Sen. And I——

Men grow not in the State, but as they are
planted, B 3 Warm

Warm in his Favours.

Hat. Honour'd *Sejanus*!

Cotta. Worthy and great *Sejanus*!

Arr. (*aside.*) Gods! how the Spunges open and suck in,

And shut again—The cringing Slave is blest,
That gets a Seat in Eye-reach of him. He,
Who comes within his Ear, or Tongue, to claw
His Excellence, or fly-blow with his Breath
His itching Ear, is in Elysium, *Lepidus*.

Oh! the *Prator* proclaims Silence;

Now we shall hear the Imperial Will.

Regulus opens the Commands of *Caesar*.

Regulus. The Majesty of great *Tiberius Caesar*
Propounds to this grave Senate the bestowing
Upon the Man he loves, honoured *Sejanus*,
The *Tribunitial Dignity* and Power.

Here are his *Letters*, sign'd with the Royal Signet.

What pleaseth now the Fathers to have done?

Senators. ——— Read them, read them publicly.

Hat. ——— Worthy *Sejanus*!

Sanq. *Rome* could never boast.

Virtue like his. His Merit kills ev'n Envy.

Sen. Honour'd and noble.

Sen. Good and great *Sejanus*.

Arr. Tame, servile Spaniels, how they lick and fawn!

Prator. ——— Silence.

Tiberius Caesar to the Senate greeting.

(The Imperial Letters are read.)

“ However remote our Person may be from the
“ Senate, the Care of the Commonwealth is never
“ absent from our Thoughts; tho' it oftentimes hap-
“ pens that the Knowledge even of their own Affairs
“ is kept secret from Princes, when they are most
“ present; than which nothing can fall out more
“ miserable to the State, or can make the Art of go-
“ verning

" vernal more difficult. But since we have the
 " Happiness to enjoy the Aid of so vigilant and in-
 " dustrious a Senate, we may be allow'd to indulge
 " our selves the more in Retirement, as we know the
 " Republick cannot suffer under their Administration.
 " Nor do the Rumours we have heard of many
 " *Libels*, published against our Retirement, at all dis-
 " turb us; they being more often the Children of *Ignorance*,
 " than of *Malice*; and will, when they
 " are neglected, soon find their own Graves; where-
 " as should they be *sensibly acknowledged* or *felt*,
 " it would make their Obloquy, *ours*. Nor do we
 " desire that the *Authors* of them, when they are
 " discover'd, should be *censured*; since in a *free State*,
 " as ours is, all Men ought to enjoy both their *Minds*
 " and their *Tongues free*.

" Yet in Things, that more worthily and more nearly
 " concern our *Fame* and the Majesty of a *Prince*, we
 " should injure our Character to neglect them. It is
 " known unto you, *conscript Fathers*, that we have
 " raised *Sejanus*, from a *small* and not a *wealthy* *Fa-*
 " *mily*, to the most conspicuous Point of Greatness.
 " [*Senators. How, how !*] and, we hope, deservingly;
 " yet, not without *Danger*; it being a very *bold* and
 " *impolitick Hazard* in any Sovereign, who shall by
 " a particular Love to *one* of his Subjects, dare to ad-
 " venture the Hatred of them all.——Yet [*Trio—*
 " *Hah !*] *Sen.—This goes not so well.*]

" Yet such is the Confidence I have in your *Affec-*
 " *tions*, as well as your *Understandings*, I do not con-
 " ceive that the Favours I have heaped on *Sejanus* can
 " be offensive to any of You.

Senators. Good! Good!

" However, I could have wished his *Love of Money* and
 " that *unsatisfied Desire*, which he has shewn of *plunder-*
 " *ing the Publick* and heaping *Wealth* and *Honours* on
 " *Himself* and his *Family*, together with many other
 " Crimes imputed to him, had not run so intempe-

" rate

“rate a Course. Some have told us that he has committed these *Crimes*, under the Pretext of *Service* to us, though the strength he has made use of, by his Faction, both in our Court and Senate, by the Offices that he holds himself and confers on others, with little Regard to us or our Authority, make him appear in the Eyes of some, and Those, whose Complaints are said to be worthy our Ear, to be greatly criminal—Your Wisdom, *conscripte Fathers*, is able to examine and to censure these Suggestions; but were they left to our *absolving Voices*, we must pronounce them, as we think them, *malicious*.

Senators. Oh, all is right again now.

“Yet are these *Accusations* not only *overred*, but offered to be *proved*. Lords of the Senate! if This be true, we know not what we should say; or rather what we should not say. This we must be assured of, This we must think, that we have placed our *Benefits* ill; and conclude that, in our Choice, either we were wanting to the Gods, or the Gods to us.”

Lepidus to *Arruntius*.—How they nestle? How they edge off from the falling Favourite? The Place grows hot. They shift.

“Most honourable Fathers, we have not been covetous of *Change*; neither do our Desires now alter from any *old Laishings*, or *new Affections*; but from those *nocturnal Jealousies of State*, that ought to warn *wise Princes* hourly to provide for their Safety; and, as they teach them to beware of the *humblest Enemy*, must admonish them in the warmest Manner to arm against those *great Ones*, who are made formidable to their Master by the *Power* they received from him; whom their Prince's *Favours* have fitted for his *Fears*.

Sen. Away! *Sen.* Sit farther.

Arruntius. Gods! how the Leaves drop off? This little Wind has shook them from his Sides.—Attend the *Traitor*.

“We

" We therefore desire that the *Offices*, which he holds, may be first seized by the *Senate*; and that he may be immediately suspended from all Exercise of *Place or Power*——

Reg. — Lords of the Senate, hold your Seats.——

Read on.

" 'Till due and mature Trial be made of his Innocence; which we think will be a *Work of some Difficulty*. However, *Fathers*, if there shall, to your more searching Wisdom, appear farther Cause, so as to think it proper to seize his *Lands*, his *Goods*, or *more*——Our *Power* shall not limit your *Authority*, nor our *Favour* corrupt your *Justice*. Should I do otherwise in this Case, I should dishonour you, and not be just to my self. I need not to inform this *judicious Senate* that they, who spare the *Guilty*, hurt the *Innocent*; nor let them know that the most grateful Sacrifice to the Gods is the Fall of an *ambitious, and rapacious Minister*."

After This, all the *little Parasites*, who were but now his *professed Creatures*, are loudest and most bitter in their City against him.—Then *Arruntius* makes this Reflection; and I think my *Nephew* has shewn his Judgment; by letting it stand in the very Words of the Original.

Who would depend upon the popular Air,
Or Voice of Men, that hath to Day beheld
(That, which, if all the Gods had fore declared,
Would scarce have been believ'd) *Sejanus' fall*;
He, that this Morn rose proudly as the Sun,
And breaking thro' a Mist of Clients Breath,
Came on, as gaz'd at, and admir'd as He,
When superstitious *Moors* salute his Light!
That had our *servile Nobles* waiting him,
As common Grooms, and hanging on his Look,
No less than human Life on Destiny!

That

That had Mens Knees as frequent as the Gods,
And Sacrifices more than *Rome* had Altars.

He concludes likewise, in the *Words of his Author*, thus.

————— Forbear, you *Things*,
That stand upon the Pinacles of State,
To boast your slippery Height. When you do fall,
You dash yourselves in Pieces, ne'er to rise;
And he, that lends you Pity, is not wise. R.



N^o 154. SATURDAY, *June 14, 1729.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *E/q;*

S I R,



WHILEST a wicked and corrupt Minister is weighing out Panegyrics and Dedications against just Satires and Invektives; or, perhaps, is numbering his Creatures and teaching them their implicit Monosyllables; whilst he is drawing out his Screen, and providing for a safe and decent Elopement; or, it may be, comforts himself with the Hopes that the publick Joy, at his Removal, will drown all future Enquiries; or that he shall keep sweet a good while longer, till the Worm seizes his Carcase, and Posterity preys upon his Memory; it may not be improper to turn your Thoughts upon the Reverse of his Character, and to enquire by what Marks a good Minister may be found out and distinguish'd; or, since he

he is only a *Creature*, by what Arts, and in what Method, he may be form'd and brought into Being. A People, who are running the Hazard of a *Death-Bad Repentance*, want nothing so much as a *good Minister*; and a *bad One* dreads nothing more than an *honest Successor*, who comes after him without treading in his Steps; takes his Place without giving into his Secrets; and will not be won by a Share of his Rapine to partake, at the same time, of his *Crimes and Corruptions*.

We know the mighty Hand, that is to form this Creature, and that the *Breath of our Nostrils* is to give him Being; but it is no Presumption, no Infringement of the Right of Election, to trace out a general Character of many just and worthy Candidates. It is no Nomination, no Designation to a particular Office, to describe a good Officer at large, with all his Qualifications and Endowments. Neither the *honest Labourer*, who discovers the Mine, or digs out the Ore; nor the *skilful Artificer*, who purifies, refines, and weighs it, can in any Sense be said to encroach upon the Authority of Those above him, who are appointed to make the last Essay; to shape and mould it; and all These are Friends to *Cæsar*, who finishes the Work, and gives it his own Image and Superscription.

Let us then imagine a Number of Men, scattered up and down a great, wise, and discerning Nation; in their Descent noble and generous; full of the Virtues of their Ancestors; in their Temper affable and *sweet-natur'd*; educated in the Knowledge and Study of our Constitution, its Laws, Settlements, Dependences and Interests; always faithful to the Crown, when consistent with their Duty to their Country; sonder of the Substance, than the Outside of Religion; easy in their Fortunes; Lovers of Mankind; more careful to preserve, than to aggrandize a Family; making Virtue the Foundation of their Friend-

Friendship, and Merit the Title to their Favour; Preservers of the Freedom of others, as well as of their own; delighting rather to be thought good than great; pleased with any Opportunity of making their Fellow-Creatures happy; just in all their Dealings; moderate in their Pleasures; true to the several Trusts, which have been reposed in them; watchful over the Accounts of others, and ready to submit their own to a full and impartial Inspection; not servile when out of Power, nor imperious when in it; studying more the Propriety of *Oratory*, than its Ornaments and Garniture; and speaking rather to the good Sense of others, than to their Passions or Interests; not solicitous for a *Place*, because they want it, but because the Place wants them; so keen in their Resentments for the Publick, that they have no Room for Those, which are personal; well acquainted with the most noted Characters and Transactions of late Years; indifferent in their Choice of public or private Life, but careful to adorn both; and looking on the Revenue of an Office to be so far public Money, as it is intended for the Support and Dignity of that Office, to which it is appropriated.——Men of this Character, Stars of this Lustre, are still stuck in good Plenty up and down our Hemisphere. The Changes of the Weather may sometimes hide, but cannot extinguish them. Their short-liv'd Obscurity is indeed their Advantage; for by This we know what it is to want them, and their Influence. Their Brightness is try'd, and distinguished from *Meteors* and *false Fires*. The Regularity of their Courses is more observed; and their Glory, when it breaks out again, becomes doubly recommended.

Imagine now a Man, of this Order and Character, advanc'd to the *Ministry*. Suppose him not well acquainted with the Course and Dependence of many of the *Offices* and Branches of Trust under his Direction; and for that very Reason not over-forward to prescribe

for *Abuses*, or admit of *Corruptions* upon the Plea of *Custom*; yet whilst it is natural for him to find out, or to place in these Offices, such Men as most nearly resemble himself; he could never want good Intelligence both at home and abroad; clear and faithful Accounts. The *Eyes, Hands, and Feet*, which he borrow'd from others, would be so much like his own, that he could not fail to see clearly, act fairly, and walk uprightly. Such a *Minister* would with Pleasure meet a *Senate*, chosen as himself was, by the same Marks and Qualifications. He would encourage such a Choice as his best Security; and when the *boni & legales Viri de Vicineto* are return'd to *Parliament*, as well as upon *Juries*, the Electors do alike consult their own Honour and Interest. A *triennial*, or *septiennial Bribe*, as ill-spent as it is ill-gotten, makes no Amends for the Loss of Credit and Reputation, which are the Support of Commerce; and it is as easy to prove, that the *Corruption* of some Boroughs is the Cause of their *Poverty*; as to prove, that their *Poverty* is the Cause of their *Corruption*. But to resume my former Subject.—The Marks I have pointed out, and the Rules I have laid down, are of such Use to the Publick, in the Choice of a good *Minister*, that where only one of them (the Character of *common Honesty*) hath been attended to, and the rest have been barely guess'd at, or left to wild Chance; such a Choice has very often been more beneficial to a Country, than a Choice made upon the very Brink, or even from the Bottom of that horrible and dreadful Gulph, commonly call'd *profound Policy*—I shall illustrate this Truth by one remarkable Instance, which I hope is too remote and far-fetch'd, to be haw'd and wrench'd into *modern Application*. The *Grand Seigneur* is said to walk abroad very often *incognito*, and to have his Out-lets and Conveniencies, both in the *Camp* and *Seraglio*, where he can oversee the Assemblies of his Domesticks and Officers, and be his own *Spy* upon their Actions and

Conversation. Listening one Day to the *grand Minister of his Kitchen*, in a full Assembly of his own *culinary Subalterns*, closely debating the present Juncture and Posture of Affairs, (when Discontents ran high, and the general Voice laid the whole Blame upon the *Prime Vizier*,) He heard the *grand Master*, then in the Chair, sometimes threatening Justice, and denouncing Vengeance; brandishing his *long Knife* at the Close of every Period; sometimes staking his *Stew-Pan* with—*Oh! He could taste up such a Dish of Politics!*—And every Menace, every Period concluded with a Wish—*That he was Prime Vizier but for one Month only.*—The *Grand Seignior* took him at his Word; and, in a few Days, advanced him to that high Post next Himself. Where all are *Slaves*, this Advancement was by no means surprizing. 'Twas a meer despotick Humour and Frolick; and perhaps done with a design to punish his Vassal's Presumption, by setting his *own Knife* to his Throat, upon the first false Step, or Mismanagement in his Conduct. But the Man was honest, and the Master agreeably disappointed. No *Minister* ever fill'd that Station, for many Years, with greater Honour and Reputation; or was better beloved both by *Prince and People*. He fed the *Empire*, as he had done the *Emperor*, with *good, wholesome Diet, well cook'd and garnish'd*. He strew'd Plenty every where, and seem'd, by his Conduct, to understand perfectly well that fine Maxim of *Cæsar*, which deserves a whole *physical, moral, and political Essay*, fully to explain it—*Let me have Men about me that are fat.*

If Chance and Incident, or Caprice and Humour, can go thus far in the Choice of a *good Minister*, who at first setting out only stumbled upon *good Sense*, and *common Honesty*; what will not *good Sense* and *common Honesty* do, when join'd with those other *noble Qualifications*, of which I have given a Detail, and when mark'd out and distinguish'd by a regular and judicious

Judicious Choice? They have made the Reigns of *Minors*, and of Monarchs, never out of their *Minority*, glorious and flourishing. They have transformed *Queens* into *Amazons*, and confined the Faults of a *foir* and vicious Prince to a few Apartments; made them Darlings of their People, and their People happy under their Government. But where a Prince, truly wise and great, and good in himself, is surrounded by a Multitude of such Counsellors; to how amazing an Height, and to how many Generations may he extend his Grandeur and the publick Felicity? — *Such Ministers*, under a Monarch, the Father of his Country, will consequently consider all his Subjects as *Princes of the Blood*, (so a merry Writer of the last Age called them) or, in the inspired, royal Style, as *Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone*; not in a natural Sense; for *Adoption* is better than *Nature*. *Such Ministers* will put out the Revenues of their Master to Interest in the Pockets of his Subjects; then, with a — *non rapui sed recepi*, recall them upon a real Necessity. *Such Ministers* will raise a *standing Force*, so very numerous, that it shall take in all the landed Gentry and trading Commons of a Nation; and perhaps 5 d. a Day is not so good Encouragement, as when Men fight for their *All*; for they fight for their *All*, when they fight for a Prince, with whom they have but one common Safety and Interest. *Such Ministers* will not suffer the Law to be made the *Back-Sword* of Justice, which cuts only on one Side. They will not score up a *War* to the Reckoning, when the good Company have not had it in; nor palm a *Truce* upon us, with all its Accidents, for the real Body of a *solid and lasting Peace*, by a new political *Trans-or-Consubstantiation*. In short, they will not, like some old Roman Minions and Favourites, make a *Statue* of their Master, and then fly to it for *Refuge*.

O.

I am, S I R, &c.



N° 155. SATURDAY, June 21, 1729.



UR *maritime Force* is undoubtedly our chief Bulwark against *foreign Invasions*, and what hath given us so great a Weight and Influence over our Neighbours. It is *This* only, which raised us from a little, despised, inhospitable People to a great, polite and formidable State. To *This* We are obliged for our *Trade*, our *Riches*, the Improvement of our *Land*, the Consumption of our *Manufactures*, and the Possession of all our valuable *Colonies* and *Plantations* abroad, as well as the Dominion and Sovereignty of those *Seas*, which surround us at home.

It therefore behoves us, in the strongest Manner, not to suffer the *Royal Navy of England* to be insulted, trifled with, or brought under Contempt, by Friend or Foe, under any Pretence, or upon any Occasion whatsoever. *National Honour*, once lost or impaired, is, like the Honour of a *private Person*, very hard to be retrieved. Those Nations, which have, for several Ages, stood in Awe of us, will begin to act the Part of *Bullies*, if we ever give them the least Reason to suspect that we are afraid of them. Most People are too apt, through Vanity and Self-Love, to construe the Effects of *Lenity*, *Forbearance* and a *pacifick Disposition*, as the Result of *Pusillanimity* and a sudden Dread of *offending them*! which may produce another bad Consequence, by depressing the Spirits of our *Sailors*, and erasing that laudable Partiality for the native Valour of their Country, which inclines them to believe that no Opposition, nor Inequality of Numbers is able to withstand it. But

But I hope there is no Occasion to insist, or enlarge upon this Subject; for though we have lately made use of *pacifick Measures*, and restrained our military Genius for a Time, under repeated Provocations; yet as we have been assured, by a very high Authority, that it ~~was~~ *is* for the Advancement of a *general Tranquillity*, the Preservation of *Trade*, and for divers other *wise, prudent* and *necessary* Ends, we ought not to look upon it as any, the least Diminution of the Honour of the *British Navy*.

But *Patientia laesa vertitur in Furorem*. If *fair Means* won't prevail, *foul ones* must. The proud *Spaniard*, who scorn'd to be soften'd, or diverted from his projected Designs, by all this mild and temperate Conduct, on our Parts, may soon find Reason to repent of his ill-judg'd Obstinacy and continued Insults. We have a * numerous and a gallant Squadron now ready to sail, under the Command of a brave and experienc'd Officer; who is armed, no Doubt, with sufficient Powers to chastise this haughty Nation and Reduce them by Force to those honourable Terms, which *good Offices* and *Persuasion* have not been able to procure from them.

I shall therefore quit this Part of the Subject, with Relation to the *present Expedition*, which I hope will produce all the desired Effects, and fill up the Remainder of this Paper with some Thoughts on another Point of the utmost Importance to the Dignity of *Great Britain*; I mean the Honour of the *FLAG*, to which we have claimed a Right, from Time immemorial, by virtue of our antient Sovereignty of the *narrow Seas*, and have obliged the Ships of all other Nations to *strike* to us upon those Seas, in Acknowledgment of this Dominion.

I think it proper, in the first Place, to lay before the Reader the *Instructions*, which (as I am informed)

are given to all the *Captains* and *Lieutenants* of our Men of War, to this Effect.

Instructions to the Captain.

— “ Upon your meeting with any Ship, or Ships, within his Majesty’s Seas, (which, for your better Guidance herein, you are to take Notice extend to *Cape Finesterre*) belonging to any foreign Prince or State, you are to expect that in their Passage by you, They *strike their Topsail* and *take in their Flag*, in Acknowledgment of his Majesty’s Sovereignty in those Seas; and if any shall refuse to do it, or offer to resist, you are to use your utmost Endeavours to *compel* them thereunto, and in no wise to suffer any Dishonour to be done to his Majesty.

Instructions to the Lieutenant.

“ You are to take upon your self the intire Charge and Conduct of his Majesty’s said Ship, and stand *accountable for the well executing the whole Duty of Commander thereof*, during the *Absence*, or in Case of the *Death* of your said Commander, with Respect as well to the printed, general Instructions given to Commanders (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) as any other particular Orders of his Majesty, &c.”

I shall now give an Instance or two of the Strictness, with which these Orders have been executed in former Reigns, and begin no higher than That of King *James the first*; who, though perhaps the most *inactive Monarch*, that ever sat upon the *British Throne*, protected one of the Officers of his Navy, (who had obliged a *French Ship* to strike to him, under very particular Circumstances) against the strongest Representations of that Court, and even refus’d to make them any Satisfaction Himself, as appears from Cardinal *Richlieu’s Testament Politique*, in that Chapter

ter treating of the Necessity, which *France* is under to be powerful at Sea. The *Cardinal* addresses Himself to *Lewis* the 13th in the following Terms, viz.,

— “ *England*, being situated as it is, if *France* was not strong in its *Fleets*, might undertake whatever she thought proper to the Prejudice of *France*, without apprehending any Return to her Disadvantage. She might destroy our *Fisheries*; disturb our *Commerce*; and, by blocking up our greatest Rivers, oblige our Merchants to pay her what Tribute she should think fit to impose upon them—She might unmolested make Descents on our *Islands*, and even on our Continent—In a Word, the Situation of the native Country of that proud Nation is such, that they have no Reason to fear the greatest Powers of the Earth; and the antient Hatred They bear this Kingdom, might probably make them undertake any Thing against us, should there ever come a Time, that we should be so weak as not to have it in our Power to act offensively against Them.

“ The Insolence, which the *English* were guilty of towards the Duke *de Sully*, in the Reign of the King your Father, ought to oblige us to put our selves in such a Posture, as not to suffer such an Affront another Time.

“ That Duke being appointed by *Henry the great* Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of *England*, and having embarked at *Calais* on Board a *French* Ship, carrying the Flag of *France* upon her main Topmast-Head, was no sooner got into the Channel, but being met by an *English* Yatch, that was sent to receive Him, the Captain of the Yatch commanded the *French* Ship to strike.

“ The Duke, thinking his Quality of Ambassador sufficient to protect Him from such an Affront, manfully refused to strike; but this Refusal being answer'd by three Cannon-Shot from the *English* Yatch, which pierced his Ship, and, at the same

“ Time,

“ Time, pierced the Hearts of all good *Frenchmen*,
 “ Force obliged Him to do That, which Reason
 “ ought to have defended Him against; and to all
 “ the Complaints he made, he could receive no other
 “ Satisfaction, nor Answer from the *English* Captain
 “ but This, that as his Duty obliged him to honour
 “ him as an Ambassador, it obliged him also to see
 “ the Honour done to his *Master's Flag*, that was due
 “ to the Sovereign of the Seas——And tho' King
 “ JAMES express'd himself upon this Affair in *civil*
 “ *Terms*, his Words had no other Effect than to
 “ oblige the *Duke* to find his only Satisfaction in his
 “ own Prudence, by feigning himself to be cured, at
 “ the same Time that he felt the greatest Smart, and
 “ that his Wound was not to be healed.

“ The King, your Father, was obliged to dissem-
 “ ble upon this Occasion; but with a Resolution, up-
 “ on some other Opportunity, to support the Honour
 “ of his Crown by the *naval Force*, which Time
 “ should make him Master of.

“ I represent to my self this great Prince, upon
 “ that Occasion, laying the *Scheme*, which your Ma-
 “ jesty ought now to put in Execution.”

The War between the *Parliament of England* and
 the *States of Holland*, in the Year 1652, (the sharpest
Sea-War, that was ever known between any two Na-
 tions) was occasioned by this Punctilio of the Honour
 of the FLAG, which the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Trump*
 refus'd to pay to our Admiral, the immortal BLAKE.

In the Reign of King *Charles the second*, another
 bloody Sea-War was commenc'd between *England* and
Holland on the same Account, with this very parti-
 cular Circumstance, that the Captain of a *single Yatch*,
 sent over to *Holland* to bring home Sir *William Tem-
 ple's* Lady, was order'd to demand this Acknowledg-
 ment from the *whole Dutch Fleet*. I confess, the *Eng-
 lish* Ministry, at that Time, did This, in order to
 pick a Quarrel with *Holland*; but I mention it, only

to shew the Obligation, which Officers of the *Navy* are under to perform their Duty; for whatever the Intention of these Orders might be, the *Captain* was undoubtedly obliged to execute them, under Pain of being dismiss'd the Service, with *Infamy*, at least.

The late King *William*, of immortal Memory, had the same Regard for this Right of the Honour of the FLAG, and made it one of his Reasons for declaring War against the late *French* King, as appears from the following Article of the *Declaration* it self.

"The Right of the FLAG, inherent in the Crown of *England*, hath been disputed by *his* (the King of *France's*) Orders, in Violation of our Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, which in all Ages hath been asserted by our Predecessors; and We are resolv'd to maintain the Honour of our Crown and of the *English* Nation."

I shall conclude these Instances with a Passage out of Sir *John Borrough's* Treatise upon this Subject.

"The Sovereignty of our Seas (*says He*) being the most precious Jewel of his Majesty's Crown and, next under God, the principal Means of our Wealth and Safety, all true *English* Hearts and Hands are bound, by all possible Means and Diligence, to preserve and maintain the same, even with the uttermost Hazard of their *Lives*, their *Goods* and *Fortunes*."

My Design, in dwelling so long on this Head, is to evince the Folly and Absurdity of a current Story about Town, that the LIEUTENANT of an *English* Man of War hath been lately discharged for obliging a *French* Ship to strike to Him, pursuant to his *Instructions*, even in the Mouth of one of our own Harbours.

D. G.



N^o 156. SATURDAY, June 28, 1729.



Have not, for some Time, taken any Notice of my *Brother Journalists*, who have endeavoured, for several Weeks past, by *personal Scurrilities* and *invidious Comments*, to extort a Reply from me.

But the Author of the *British Journal* obliged us (on *Saturday, June the 7th*) with such extraordinary Remarks on the *last Session of the British Parliament*, that I cannot, in Justice to several Gentlemen, let them pass without some Animadversion.

I agree intirely with *this Writer*, that the Custom of acquainting the Publick, upon the *Dissolution or Recess of Parliament*, *what Care hath been taken of their Interests*, is a *Liberty*, which all Parties have practised, though to different Purposes, and seems highly beneficial to the People, who ought to be informed how so great a Trust hath been discharged. I presume therefore that I have the same Right with Him, or any other *Englishman*, to exercise this *Liberty*; which I promise to do with more *Impartiality* and *Regard to Truth* than He hath done.

I am ready to allow that *this Session* hath produced several excellent *Laws, Resolutions and Proposals*; but as we are unhappily divided into different Parties, who mutually endeavour to have it believ'd, whilst they oppose one another, that the Good of their Country is the sole Motive of their Proceedings; it seems necessary, for our better Judgment, to distinguish

guish between them, and point out to the World what are properly the *Aſs* of each Party.

For this Reason, I could wish that it was the Custom to publish not only *those Bills and Resolutions*, which are passed by a Majority of Votes; but likewise all *Proposals*, which are made in the *House*, with a particular List of the Names of all such Members, as voted on *either Side*. This would certainly be a great Help to us in forming a true Judgment on the Conduct of *opposite Parties*; and could not, I think, be disagreeable to *either Side*; since it is to be presumed that no Person, who hath the Honour to sit in that august Assembly, gives his Vote for, or against any Bill without *some Reason*, which He is not ashamed to own and justify.

But though This is not the Practice at present, I shall take the same *Liberty* (which Mr. *Manley* and all *Parties have practis'd*) of reviewing the Proceedings of the *last Session*, and doing Justice to *both Parties*; by ascribing to *each* the Honour of *those Aſs*, which properly belong to them; whereas Mr. *Manley* seems very modestly and complaisantly to give the whole Merit of every *popular Transaction* this Session to a *particular Set of Men*, who will appear perhaps, upon Examination, to have the least Right to it.

He observes very justly, "that our Members came
"up from their several Countries, possessed with the
"common Expectation of the Kingdom to know the
"Progress of our late Negotiations, and the Prospect
"we had of a Peace; what Relief could be had for
"our much injured trading Interest; and what Remedy
"could be applied to the melancholy Troubles of Eu-
"rope." But He is not so kind as to inform us how
these Expectations were answer'd; or what Satisfaction
was given to our Representatives upon any one of
these Articles; so that, for any Thing which appears
in this notable Essay, they might return into their se-
veral Countries, as wise as they came up, and under

the same *Doubts and Uncertainties*, with Relation to publick Affairs.

He tells us, indeed, that the Project of a *provisional Treaty* was laid before them, which He is pleas'd to call a *Compact*; though I always apprehended that a *Compact* necessarily included in it the Consent of *both Parties*; whereas I never heard it so much as pretended that the Allies of *Vienna* shew'd the least Inclination to accept of *this Project*, either at that Time or since; and therefore it is somewhat difficult to conceive how this *provisional Treaty*, as it is called, could be esteem'd a *just and solid Basis for a lasting, safe, and honourable Peace*.

I shall not enter into any Disquisition on the Nature of *this Project*, which I consider'd at large, in an *extraordinary Paper*, at the Beginning of the Session, in Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Conduct of Great Britain, &c.*—Whatever it is, let the sole Merit of it be engrossed by *those Persons*, to whom Mr. Manley so justly ascribes it.

Only give me Leave to take Notice of what He is pleas'd to assert, with Regard to *Gibraltar*, that our *Representatives were of Opinion that it would be secure on the Foot of former Treaties, without any explicit and special Renunciation*. Some of our Representatives, it is true, were of this Opinion; but others (the *Minority* indeed) thought, that as the King of *Spain* had trump't up a Claim, on a *pretended Promise of Restoration* from the late King, it was necessary, in order to prevent all future Cavillings and Demands on this Account, to insist on a *formal Cession* of it in a publick Treaty; and a Motion was made accordingly by some *honourable Members*, though without Effect.

He tells us likewise, that the *Provision for our suffering Merchants had the special Approbation of our Members*; and it was, it seems, with *inexpressible Pleasure and Satisfaction* that He observed contending Parties, who disagreed in most Things, were unanimous in This;
and

and that the only Struggle seem'd to be, who should have the Glory of doing Justice to the Merchants. I heartily wish that the Merchants may have Justice done them, and receive full Reparation for all their Losses; which I doubt not his Majesty, in pursuance of his royal Engagement, will use his utmost Endeavours to procure; but to *whom* the Glory of this Affair chiefly, if not solely, belongs, I leave the Merchants themselves to determine.

Mr. Manley is so good as to allow, that the Enquiry into *what Care had been taken for the Guard of the Seas; what Measures employ'd to distress the Spanish Privateers and what Instructions given to our Admirals in the West Indies*, was a most laudable Enquiry; and yet, with the same Breath, calls it an invidious and ill-natur'd Part in those Persons, who promoted *this Enquiry*; upon which, He tells us, it appear'd that *whereas it had been commonly asserted four thousand Sailors died in those Squadrons, not half the Number was really true—That the Seas were as well guarded as ever was known—And that, upon the whole Enquiry, our Representatives adjudged these Measures prudent, just, and necessary.*

That not *two thousand Sailors* died on board our Squadrons in the *West-Indies*, is, I maintain, absolutely false; and if the *Seas were as well guarded as ever was known*, it seems somewhat strange that so many of our Ships should be almost daily taken. I confess *these Measures* were voted, by the Majority, *prudent, just and necessary*; but it is well known that many Gentlemen were of another Opinion, and a Motion was made, in the House of Lords,

That the Expence of the Squadron sent to the West-Indies, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Hosier, having been borne by this Nation alone, tho' designed to prevent the Spaniards from seizing the Effects belonging to his Majesty's Allies, as well as his Subjects, which were on board the Flota and Gallies, and from

applying the Treasure to disturb the Peace and invade the Liberties of Europe, has been an unreasonable Burthen upon this Kingdom.——

——*Vide the PROTESTS of the Lords, upon this Head.*

Amongst the beneficent Acts of this Session, Mr. Manley thinks himself obliged to mention the Sum of *sixty five thousand Pounds*, (though, in the *Votes*, it appears to be only *sixty*) *expended the last Year for Services of great Importance, which are absolutely necessary to be kept SECRET*; upon which however he makes the following just Observations, to which I readily subscribe. *I cannot but say our Affairs are much to be lamented, when their unhappy Situation shall oblige our Parliaments to acquiesce in such general Expences; but I hope They will mend. I trust We shall soon see better Times.*——*It may be presum'd, We shall not have many more like Articles; and the common Interest will be so well preserv'd on the antient Establishment, that We shall no longer raise Sums without Appropriation, or expend them without Account.*

The Enquiry into the State of our Prisons, and the vigorous Proceedings in Behalf of the poor oppressed Debtors, was truly publick-spirited and worthy the Care of a British Parliament; but it is so well known to whom the Success and Credit of that Enquiry was intirely owing, that, I think, Mr. Manley ought, in common Modesty, to have left it out of his List; as well as the immortal Bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption; which cannot certainly be imputed to Those, who oppos'd it by Speaking, Voting and Solliciting with all their Strength.

Mr. Manley was so well aware of This, that, in the Paper immediately preceding, He endeavour'd openly to justify Corruption, and to ridicule the *Bill*, which hath so effectually, I hope, apply'd a Remedy to it.

For

For the Entertainment of the Reader, I will put his *incautious Sentiments of this Bill* in a proper Light.

In his Paper, of *Saturday May 31*, which is a continued Essay in Defence of *Bribery and Corruption*, He hath these remarkable Paragraphs, *viz.*

"As much as I wish the Grievance were remedied, and unwilling as I am to disturb *their golden Dream*, who hope for this happy Consequence from a late Act to *prevent Bribery and Corruption*; yet I cannot but observe that this Law, which punishes this Evil in its first Source, leaves Men to their own Ways afterwards. It punishes the *Elecfors*, who are corrupted, or the *Candidate*, who corrupts them, but lays no Restraint on the *elected Person*; so that it seems calculated (at least, it hath a Tendency) to confine all Bounties to the *Parties chosen*; which yields a comfortable Prospect to *Those*, who would turn the Tables, and come into Play, as They hope to *engross Corruption*, and make it their *own absolute Property*.

"Thus Gentlemen may be elected without any Expence or Trouble, other than *mobbing and Speeches* and *strong Beer*; so that when They come up to *Westminster*, all They get there will be *clear Gains*."

In this insolent Manner did our Author treat one of the best *Bills*, that was ever past, (as well as the *Parliament*, which past it) on *Saturday May 31*; yet, in his very next Paper, He changes his Note, and makes a most wretched Compliment to his *Patrons* (who exerted their utmost Endeavours to *throw out the Bill*) as the sole *Authors* and *Promoters* of it—Observe his Words, and how They agree with his *former Paper*!

"*Illustrious Patriots!*—Who fear'd not to rise with Spirit, and apply'd a *sovereign Remedy* against *that most devouring Pestilence, CORRUPTION.*"

But though Mr. Manley hath given the Credit of *some Things* to his *Patrons*, which does not belong to them, He hath forgot to take any Notice of others, which I believe no Body will dispute ~~with~~ them; such as the *Land-Tax Bill*; the Subsidies to the Prince of *Hesse*, the King of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*; and especially that ever-memorable Grant of 115,000*l.* to make good the *Arrears* of his Majesty's civil List, which is stated very clearly in a *Pamphlet*, lately published on that Subject.

Mr. Manley confesses, that He hath raised his Strain to *Panegyrick*, but promises Himself to be acquitted of *sordid Flattery*; which I hope all impartial Men will readily do, who read the following Paragraph. *Happy Nation! who have no rapacious Ministers, fond of Wars to exhaust the Publick; and who, as They abhor voracious Rapine, so They shun the fairest Opportunity of drawing most immense Sums out of the Blood and Bowels of their Countrymen!*

He calls upon me, in a *Postscript*, to apply a *Proposal*, which I formerly made, to the present Occasion. The *Proposal* was that, in Imitation of a Custom amongst the *Romans*, every *Law* should bear the Name of the Man, who was the *first Adviser* and *Promoter* of it. Perhaps, it may not be absolutely safe to accept of his Challenge; but I will venture to comply so far, as to set some of the most remarkable *Acts*, *Resolutions*, *Motions* and *Proposals* of this Session in *opposite Columns*.

• An Act for granting to his Majesty an Aid of *three Shillings* in the Pound upon LAND.

Several Resolutions in Behalf of our *Merchants*, who have been Sufferers by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*.

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty, the Sum of 784,983 *l.* 12 *s.* 01 *d.* $\frac{2}{3}$ for

An Act for disabling Mr. *Bambridge*, and several Resolutions upon the Ex-

for maintaining *twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and fifty five* effective Men for the Land Service of Great Britain.

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty the Sum of 241,259 l. 01 s. 03 d. for defraying the Expence of *twelve thousand Hessian* Troops for the Year 1729.

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty the Sum of *fifty thousand Pounds* for one Year's Subsidy to the King of Sweden.

A Resolution to grant to his Majesty *twenty five thousand Pounds* for one Year's Subsidy to the Duke of Wolfenbottle.

Enquiry into the State of our Gaols.

A Motion to oblige the King of Spain to make a *formal and specifical* Renunciation of all Claims and Pretensions whatsoever to the Fortress of GIBRALTAR and the Island of Minorca; *which passed in the Negative.*

A Proposal to take off the burthensome Duties upon Soap and Candles, for the Relief of the Poor, and the Encouragement of our Manufactures; *which passed in the Negative.*—I mention This, because though it was not agreed to the last Session, it may probably occasion something of this Nature to be done hereafter.

An Address to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the proper Officers to lay before the House, a particular and distinct Account of the Sum of *sixty thousand Pounds*, which (in an Account laid before the House, shewing how the Money given, for

An

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the

An Act to make good a certain Deficiency, by a late famous *Robbery of the Exchequer*, out of the SINKING FUND.

A Grant to his Majesty of the Sum of 115,000 l. to make good the *Arrears* of

the Service of the Year 1728, hath been disposed of) was charged to have been issued on Account of *secret Services*; which — *Vide the Votes.*

A Motion that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to desire that the House might be informed what Demands were made, in behalf of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to his Majesty's Allies for Succours of Troops, Ships or Money, which they were obliged to furnish, in pursuance of Treaties, during the late Hostilities, and the Siege of *Gibraltar*; and in what manner the said Demands were comply'd with; or whether any Measures were settled and concerted between the Crown of *Great Britain* and her Allies, in order to carry on a general and vigorous War, in Case the Project of *preliminary Articles* of Peace, under Consideration during the Siege of *Gibraltar*, had not been accepted; which *passed in the Negative.*

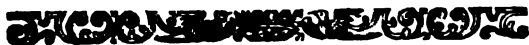
A Motion that the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company do lay before the

the House an Account of the Demands, with the Value or Estimate thereof, which the Company hath, since the Year 1717, had upon the *Spaniards*, for Seizures made by them of Ships or other Effects of the said Company, together with an Account of what Satisfaction hath been made to the Company for the said Losses, and how much of the same still remains unsatisfied; *which pass'd in the Negative.*

An ACT to prevent BRIBERY and CORRUPTION in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; *which was providentially carried in the Affirmative by those Gentlemen, who have commonly the Misfortune to be the MINORITY.*

D.





N^o 157. SATURDAY, July 5. 1729.



DURING the present uncertainty of *public Affairs*, which reduces the common News-writers to daily Contradictions of one another and Themselves, I chuse to entertain my Readers with a very unfortunate Case in *private Life*, which may be of Service to many of them.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

The Case of JACK TEAZLE the West-Country Clothier.

THE Family of the TEAZLES hath flourished in the *West* for more than two Centuries. They were always look'd upon to be plain and substantial Men; and their Wealth, as it was gained by honest Industry, seemed to wear well. It descended from Father to Son, with Increase; and *William Teazle* the great Ancestor of *Jack* (of whom I have heard the Family often boast) humbly begg'd to be excus'd the Honour of *Knighthood* from *Queen Elizabeth*, who would have changed his Name to *Staple*; but he said and proved by his Conduct, that *He had rather deserve Honours than wear them*; and look'd upon *Dignity* without *Merit* not only to be burthensome, but disgraceful. That wise Princess had a very great Regard for *Mr. Teazle*. She encouraged, assisted, and rewarded

rewarded him; and always used to say she look'd upon him as the most useful, and the most profitable, Member in the Society. Accordingly, she would always engage on his Side in any Contracts, which he had made with *foreign Merchants*, and see immediate Right done to him—I have heard that she has call'd him, before her Courtiers, *the Pillar of the State*. The Family of the *Teazles* hath lived several Ages since with good Reputation. They have kept up (till very lately) to the Lengths, the Fineness, and the Thickness of their Cloths; and I have heard that their *Bales* have been bought without *View* or *Measuring*, on the sight of their *Marks* only, in foreign Countries. But for some Years past, *Jack's* Family, beginning to grow a little polite and extravagant, fell into the Luxury of their Neighbours; and it was observed their Credit grew less; as there were sometimes found to be Errors in the Lengths and Goodness of their *Cloths*. However, they kept up still a tolerable Reputation and a good Trade, and were respected abroad and valued at home. A great Estate descended to *Jack Teazle*, our *West-Country Clothier*, whose Case I lay before you. *Jack* was a very honest Man; and was resolved, notwithstanding his Substance, not to neglect his Business; and, as his Father had done, and was necessary for him, he apply'd to the *Merchant* (who happened to be his Neighbour and Lord of the Mannor likewise) to assist him in his Business; to take off his Cloths, and to protect him in his Trade. But the *Merchant*, happening at this Time to have much Business of another Sort upon his Hands, referr'd Mr. *Teazle* and his Affairs to *Bob Booty*, his Factor; a very prating busy Fellow, who had been bred an *Attorney*, and who not only knew very little of his own Profession, but was utterly ignorant of every Thing relating to *Trade*. His Character had always been a little tainted; but, for some Years past, he was quite blown, and every one in the County,

County, except the *Merchant* and his *Lady*, were perfectly acquainted with him, and refused to give him any Credit. However, Mr. *Teazle*, rather than disoblige his *Merchant*, suffered him to be employ'd in his Affairs. *Robin* had not taken upon Him the Management of his Business for more than *two or three Years*, when every Thing was in confusion. He quarrell'd with the *Merchants* of every Country, with whom He us'd to deal.

The first Man, with whom he broke, and for little or no Reason, was a very eminent *German Merchant*, an antient Friend to the *Teazle* Family; and one, who had not only dealt for considerable Quantities of his Goods from Time to Time, but on all Occasions, when there was any Dispute with the neighbouring Merchants, espoused his Quarrels; and hath often relieved them out of Scrapes, into which their *ill Conduct*, or *Misfortunes* had led them; but Factor *Bob*, regardless of all This, swore at him; bully'd him; call'd him Names; and had very like to have occasioned an open Breach.

The next Gentleman, whom *Bob* took it into his Head to disoblige, was *Don Pedro de Capos*, a *Spanish Merchant*; a *Frenchman*, I think, by Birth; a very good Sort of Man, but a little weak; and it appear'd in nothing more so, than that he was absolutely governed by his *Wife*; who, they say, was a very meddling, busy Woman. However, he had been a great Dealer with Mr. *Teazle*, and a considerable Part of Mr. *Teazle's* Estate had been gain'd from that House; for the *Spaniard* paid ready Money for every Pennyworth of Goods. But so it was, that our *litigious Factor* fell out with Him likewise; swore he would receive no more of his *Money*; nor send him so much as one Yard of *Bays*. He carry'd the Thing still farther, and persuaded *Jack* (who was a very brave Man) that the *Spanish Merchant* had injured, affronted, and abus'd him; and that it became him in Honour to

to demand Satisfaction. *Jack*, who has warm Blood in him, was immediately stirr'd. He put on his long Sword and his Pumps, and marched with many of his Friends to *Don Pedro's Country House*, situate many Miles off, in a *marshy Bog*. When he came there, he called often and aloud upon him to come abroad. He told him that he came as a *Friend* only, and to PERSUADE Him, by gentle Means, to put his Effects in his Hands; but the wary *Spaniard* lay close within Doors, and replied, that he very much suspected he came to *break open his House and steal his Plate*. *Jack* and his Friends however staid there, till they had got confounded *Agnes*, which killed several of them, and had like to have put an End to *John* himself; and every Body said that it was more owing to the Strength of his *Constitution*, than his *Prudence*, that he escap'd with his Life. However, He made a mighty silly Figure upon his Return; and *Bob*, who was very uneasy Himself for advising that Project, could not help sneering at him; but now *Jack*, upon inquiring into his Affairs, found them in a very melancholy Situation. He had spent most of his ready Money. He had a great deal of *Wool* by him; but had none or very poor Markets for it. He had neither Money nor Business for the honest *Manufacturers*, whom he us'd to employ. He was advis'd however once more to apply to *Bob Booty*; who laugh'd very heartily when he heard his Complaint, and assur'd him that he was the most mistaken Man alive; for that, to his Knowledge, he was a very rich Man; that his *Trade flourish'd exceedingly*; and that he did not know so happy a Creature in the World as himself. But, says he, Mr. Teazle, if you have really sustained any Losses; if they are not altogether imaginary; if you have been robbed; I will do my best, and I do not know but one time or other, I may discover the Thieves—— However, as to the Affronts you have received, I have hit upon a Method that, I think, will do. You know

old *Father Frippon*, the *Frenchman*. He is a very honest, and a wise Man. I have put your Affairs into his Hands, and I warrant you he will set us to rights very soon. I think, I never did see my Friend *Jack* in so great a Passion in my Life, as he was upon this Occasion. What, cry'd he, You shameless Knave! What! put my Affairs into the Hands of my *pro-fess'd, known Enemy*, who has had an *antient Quarrel* to my Family; one, who never ought to be trusted; one, who never spoke a Word of *Truth* in his whole Life; and is so cunning, that he would outwit the Devil! Don't you know that I am a *Protestant* and an *Englishman*, Sirrah? Give me my Sword and my Pistols; I will go in *Person*; I will *fight*; I will have *Satisfaction* for the Injuries I have received.—*Bob*, who found that the honest Clothier was warm, and in Earnest, gave him a little Time to cool.—My good Friend, said he, *if it must come to fighting at last, it must*; but I am of a *peaceable Disposition*; I hate *Bloodshed*; you are *so hot*. Why, I have sent my Brother *Ballance* to make up this Matter. You know He is very *polite*, and hath a great deal of *Wit*. *Father Frippon* has a great Value for him.—But, said he, the *good Father* is a Lover of *Money*. I know how to work him out of any Thing by *Money*. No Body knows the Power of *Money* so well as I do. I have done Wonders with *Money*——In a Word, he bubbled Mr. *Teazle*, from Time to Time, out of large Sums to bribe this *Priest*; and kept him likewise most provokingly in Suspence.

Bob always assured him confidently, tho' he knew the contrary, that his Affairs were in a fair Way of being made easy; that all his Losses should soon be made good, and his Trade resettled; and all this time the honest *Clothier* found himself going fast to Ruin; his Trade lost, and his Estate burthened yearly with new Demands from *Bob Booty*; when now, *Bob* and he both found themselves bamboozled by the *French Priest*;

Priest; and that their Business was so far from being done, that the *Frenchman* had combined with *Don Pedro* to do all they could to reduce the Affairs of *Jack* yet lower; for they were jealous of him as a Rival in Trade; having found him, before *Bob* was his *Factor*, in good Circumstances, and capable of ingrossing the whole *Clothing Trade* to himself. But, besides all This, *Bob* had enter'd into Articles of Agreement with the *Frenchman*, to abide solely by his Determination, and never to use Force upon any Occasion; so that I have seen the *Frenchman*, when *Jack* has got his Friends around him, and laid his Hand upon his Sword, in order to do himself Justice; I have seen him, I say, take out the *Proclamation against Riots*, which he always carry'd in his Pocket, and immediately read it and dispers'd them; after which, He insolently told Him that he would have no *Fighting*; for that it was contrary to a *specifick Compact*. Nay, it was but the other Day, when *Jack* had armed himself *Capapé*, and swore bloodily he would be about *Don Pedro's* House, that the *Frenchman* had immediate Recourse to his old Remedy; out came the *Proclamation*, and all *Jack's* Hopes of Satisfaction were again disappointed.

This, *Mr. D'Anvers*, is the Case of honest *Jack Teazle*. Though he is brave and virtuous enough, as the World goes; yet his *Enemies*, you see, insult him; his *Friends* abuse him, and all the World despise Him. — His old Friend the *German Merchant*, to whom the Family of the *Teazles* always used to have Recourse in their Difficulties, swears solemnly that he will never have any thing more to do with him, while he hath any Correspondence with that old Rogue Father *Frippon*; or employs in his Service that odd Mixture of the Knave and the Fool, *Robin Booby*; and *Jack's* reasonable Friends do not know any other Way to extricate his Affairs out of the wicked Hands, into which they are fallen. Sometimes, they think

of applying to the *Lord of the Manor*, to remove him from being his *Faſſor*. Then they are told, by *Bob's* Creatures, He has ſo good an Opinion of him, that it will be in vain. In ſhort, Sir, our County is in a ſort of an Uproar about This. If you could, for one Day only, ſuſpend your Care of the Publick, and give us a Word of your Advice, which hath great Weight amongſt us, I believe it would perfectly open my Friend *Jack's* Eyes, and convince Him that He might with much more Safety depend upon it than on any Counſel, that hath ever been given Him by *Bob Booty*.

R.

TAUNTON, *June*,
26th, 1729.

I am S I R,

WILL. FULLER.



N^o 158. SATURDAY, *July* 12, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *E/q;*

S I R,



S the Law, for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, has warm'd every honest Heart with Joy, and open'd to us a Prospect of being deliver'd from the Dangers, which we were under, from the corrupt and illegal Practices in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; as every honest Country Gentleman may, from this Law, hope again to enjoy the natural Rights, to which he was born, and

to take his Share in the Service of the Publick, without being bought out of his Seat in Parliament by *Place-Brokers, Pension-mongers, Politicians, and Stock-jobbers*; and as this Statute is the only Resource, which we have to check the Growth of that great and fundamental Evil, *Corruption*, in electing Members to serve in Parliament; (which, like the im poisoning of the Sources of Rivers, must in Time have quite destroyed our Constitution;) for these Reasons I have taken the Liberty, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to send you a short Comment on several Clauses of this most excellent Law.

When we consider *how* and at *what Time* we came by it, methinks it looks like a *Deodand*. It seems to be an immediate Act of Providence; and the more so, because, as I have been informed, this Bill was a Child, of which the *Parents* had little or no Hopes. They did not flatter themselves that it could rise to Maturity, and become a *Law*; and we may say seriously, what was once waggishly said on another Occasion,—*It was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes.*

You have often inveighed against *Corruption*. You have shewn what the inevitable Consequences of it would be; how destructive it must prove to the Constitution, and to the Rights and Liberties of a free People; particularly how it must affect us in that Part, which relates to our Choice of *Members of Parliament*.—And you have now the Honour to hear the whole Legislature say, as you have said, in their Preamble to this *saving Law*. It begins with reciting, “that it having been found by Experience that the
“ *Laws* in being were not sufficient to prevent *cor-*
“ *rupt* and *illegal* Practices in the Election of Mem-
“ bers to serve in Parliament; therefore to remedy
“ so great an Evil, and that hereafter all Elections of
“ Members may be freely and indifferently made, *this*
“ *Law enacts,*

First,— “ That *Electors* of Members to serve in
“ Parliament shall take the following *Oath*, if de-
“ manded by either of the *Candidates*, or any two of
“ the *Electors*.”

I—do swear I have not received or had by my
self, or any Person whatsoever, in Trust for me, or for
my Use and Benefit, directly or indirectly, any Sum or
Sums of Money, Office, Place or Employment, Gift or
Reward, or any Promise or Security for any Money, Of-
fice, Employment, Gift, or Reward, in order to give my
Vote at this Election; and that I have not before been
polled at this Election.

This solemn and sacred Oath is to be administer'd
gratis by the Officer, who presides, or takes the Poll
at every Election; and if he refuses to administer this
Oath, he forfeits *fifty Pounds* to any Person, who shall
sue for the same; and no Person shall be admitted to
poll till he hath taken this Oath, if demanded as afore-
said; and if the *Sheriff*, or other *returning Officer*,
shall admit any Person to be polled before he is sworn,
if demanded, he forfeits *one hundred Pounds*, to be
sued for by any Person, as before; and every Person,
who shall vote, or poll, without first taking this Oath,
if demanded, shall incur the Penalty likewise of *one
hundred Pounds*.

Immediately after This, it goes on to enact, that
every *returning Officer*, after he has read the *Writ*,
shall take the following Oath;

I—do solemnly swear that I have not, directly nor
indirectly, received any Sum or Sums of Money, Office,
Place, or Employment, Gratuity or Reward, or any
Bond, Bill or Note, or any Promise or Gratuity what-
soever, for making any Return at the present Election
of Members to serve in Parliament; and that I will
return such Person or Persons, as shall, to the best of
my Judgment, appear to me to have the Majority of
legal Votes.

This

This Oath is to be administered to the *Sheriff*, or *returning Officer*, by any Justice or Justices for the County, &c. or, in their Absence, by any *three of the Electors*, and the Oath is to be entered among the *Records* of the Sessions, &c.

And if any of the *Electors*, *Sheriffs*, *returning Officers*, &c. shall be convicted of *misfal Perjury*, they shall suffer the Pains and Penalties, which are to be inflicted by Law in such Cases; and such Persons, convicted of *Perjury*, shall be for ever afterwards incapable of *Voting*. And for securing and settling the Peace and Quiet of future Elections, all Votes shall be deemed to be *legal*, which have been so declared by the *last Determination* in the House of Commons; which *last Determination* shall be final, to all Intents and Purposes.

As the *Resolutions* of Parliament have often *varied*, with Relation to the Right of Voting in the same Places, this Clause, of which I have given you the Sense, hath therefore wisely prevented all future Contention on that Head, by fixing it thus; for now every Corporation in *England*, where there has ever been any disputed Election, may know who have and who have not a Right of Voting there; they being bound, as we see, to abide by the *last Determination in Parliament*.

And now follows the *great Clause*, which lays a Penalty of *five hundred Pounds* on all Persons, who shall take Money or Reward for their Votes. If any Person, who hath, or claims to have any Right to vote in any Election, shall take any Reward, says the Act, by Money, Gift, Loan or other Device; or agree or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment, or other Reward whatsoever, to give his Vote, or refuse or forbear to give his Vote in any Election; or if any Person by himself, or any Person employ'd by him. doth or shall, by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promise, Agreement or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt any Person

to vote; such Person shall forfeit *five hundred Pounds*, to be recovered by any Person, who shall sue for the same, as is before directed, and be for ever disabled to vote in any Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and be for ever disabled to hold, exercise or enjoy any *Office or Franchise, &c.* in the Corporation, as if such Person was naturally dead; so that here, we see, the *Corruptor* and the *Corrupted*, as it is equal, are both involved in *same* the *Penalty*.

And that this Law may be well obey'd and fully executed, it is farther enacted, that if any Person offending against this Act shall, within *twelve Months* after the Election, discover any Person offending, so that he shall be convicted; such Person, so discovering, and not having been himself before convicted, shall be indemnified and discharged from all *Penalties and Disabilities*, which he shall then have incurred by offending against this Act.

Having thus wisely and strongly provided by *Oaths* and *Penalties*, and, as far as human Wisdom can foresee, endeavoured to prevent this great Evil of *Corruption* in electing Members to serve in Parliament, the Legislators have provided likewise that it shall be *publickly known* and *promulgated*; and therefore that no Person whatsoever may pretend Ignorance of it; all *Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs*, and *other Officers*, to whom the Execution of the Writ for electing Members shall belong, are required, immediately after reading the Writ, to read or cause to be read openly, before all the *Electors*, this Act and every Clause therein contained; and once in every Year it is likewise to be openly read at the *General Quarter-Session of the Peace*, to be holden next after *Easter*; and every *Sheriff, Under-Sheriff, Mayor, &c.* who shall wilfully offend against this Act, shall forfeit *50 l.* with *Costs of Suit*, in Manner before directed.

And, in order to prevent all malicious and vexatious Prosecutions, it concludes with this Clause, that no Person

Person shall be made liable to any *Incapacity, Penalty, &c.* unless a Prosecution be commenced within *two Years* after such *Incapacity, Penalty, &c.* shall be incurred.

As this wise, and, I hope, immortal Law (for surely no overgrown Genius in Iniquity will ever be harden'd and wicked enough to endeavour to *repent*, or to *weaken*, or *explain* away any part of it) is directed to be *publickly read*; I thought, Mr. *D'Anvers*, it would not be unacceptable to you, or to the Publick, to give you the Sense of it in a few Words.

This Bill hath had various Success, both *within* and *without Doors*. It hath often been *approved* and *condemned* by the *same Persons*; and some People, who at first *opposed* and afterwards *ridiculed* it, on every Occasion, seem already to be ashamed of both; and from laughing at it, as a *chimerical* and *impracticable Project*, have turned quite round, and endeavoured to make us believe that they themselves *voted* for and *approved* it.—That they *opposed* the passing of it, is certain. How far it was their *Interest* to oppose it Time will discover. However, it looks a little like Modesty that they are, at any Time, ashamed publicly to avow their Actions; for This they certainly do, when they lay a Claim to the Merit of passing those Laws, which, every one knows, they *voted against*.—But as you have, in your last Paper, set this Affair in a clear Light, I have nothing more to say now but that,

R.

I am yours, &c.

TO CALEB D^r ANVERS *Esq;*

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

YOU gave us, some time ago, a Discourse on the *Instrumenta Regni*, (as the Ancients called them) or *Tools of State*; in which you made some just Observations

servations on the *mercenary Senator*, the *Man-Lion* and the *Court-writer*; but I was somewhat surprized to find that you took no Notice of another mischievous Sect of these Vermin; I mean *State-Projectors*; who endeavour to get an infamous Livelihood out of the Blood and Bowels of their Fellow-Subjects. *Empson* and *Dudley* were Wretches of this Denomination; and later Times have not been free from the same Kind of *Horse-Leeches*, who commonly meet with more Encouragement from a *rapacious* and *extravagant* Minister than the most useful and beneficent Members of the Common-wealth; for Instances might be produced of Men, who have raked together large Estates, and raised Themselves to considerable Posts in the Government by the Invention of *oppressive Taxes*, or betraying the Mysteries of their *own Profession*.

Princes, who are absolute, generally make Use of these *Cannibals* to fill their own Coffers. They receive *all*, and dispose of it, as They please. But in *free Countries* like ours, (where a distinct Revenue is granted to the *King*, for the Uses of what is called his *civil Government*, and the other publick Monies are intrusted in the Hands of *Treasurers*, or *Commissioners*) it too often happens that a *weak*, *avaricious*, or *profuse* Minister finds it his Interest to employ these *Blood-suckers*, without any Direction from his Master, to supply his *own Misapplications*, and save Himself the Trouble of *Frugality* and *good Management*.

When I speak against *Projectors* in general, I hope no Body can understand me to mean any Persons, whose Business it is to find out *Ways and Means* for raising those Sums, from Year to Year, which the Parliament thinks fit to grant; but only such, as make a Trade of *Projecting*, and spend their whole Lives in *Calculations* of this Kind, without any Regard to our *distressed Poor* and *declining Manufactures*, or considering any Thing farther than *how much such a Tax*
will

will raise, and how to accommodate a *Minister* with Schemes agreeable to his Designs.

There is a Chapter in *Boccalini* full of just Satire on these *Archigogalos*, (as He calls them) or *Brokers of Oppression*; which gave me the more Pleasure, because it treats *England* as a wise Nation, that would not give any Encouragement to these *vile Wretches*, nor suffer Themselves to be *milk'd at Discretion*, like *Italy* and other slavish Countries. The Book indeed was written many Years ago; but I hope the Observation upon *Us* is still and will always remain equally just.—I have sent you the whole Chapter at length, which I believe will be agreeable to your Readers, whenever you please to insert it.

A Vessel full of State-Projectors is shipwreck'd on the Shallows of Lepanto; and Apollo treats them civilly, tho' he hates that Sort of People.

“ THE dreadful Storm at Sea, occasion'd some
 “ Days ago by the furious South-Winds,
 “ having driven a Vessel on the Shallows of *Lepanto*,
 “ the People that dwell on the Sea-Coast, observing
 “ there were a great Number of Passengers on board,
 “ ran to their Relief, and with such good Success,
 “ that tho' the Vessel perished, they saved above eighty
 “ Persons, who were in her. *Apollo* gave Orders
 “ that Care should be taken of them, and Enquiry
 “ made who they were; whence they came; and
 “ whither they were bound. They answered they
 “ were all *State-Projectors* of *Italy*, and came from
 “ thence not long before; which his Majesty hearing,
 “ though he is exceedingly compassionate, yet
 “ such is his Detestation of those Enemies to Mankind,
 “ that he almost repented his having relieved them;
 “ thinking such Villains unworthy the least Mercy,
 “ who make it their whole Study to invent those
 “ execrable *Impositions*, with which modern Princes
 “ barba-

" barbarously torment their wretched People. How-
 " ever some *Virtuosi* said, that since there was on
 " board this Vessel so great a Number of these Fel-
 " lows, and all came from *Italy*, there was Reason
 " to hope they had brought the good News to *Par-*
 " *nassus*, that the *Italian* Princes had, one and all, at
 " length put on the generous Resolution of purging
 " the State from such abominable Filth. *Apollo* then
 " commanded that they should be ask'd, why they
 " left *Italy*, and whither they were going? They
 " answered, that when they had exhausted all their
 " Skill in *Italy*, and wearied all their subtle Invention
 " to drain the People's Purse, and fill the Prince's
 " Coffers, by raising the *Gabels*, or *Taxes*, as high as
 " possibly they could; nothing being left for them to
 " work upon in that Country, they went into *France*,
 " and from thence into *Spain*; in both which noble
 " Kingdoms they had behaved themselves in such
 " Manner, as to leave behind them an eternal Me-
 " mory of the Name of the *Florentines* and *Genoese*.
 " After This, they endeavoured to get into *England*,
 " the *Low Countries*, *Germany* and *Poland*, Provinces
 " that overflow with Gold, and abound with rich In-
 " habitants, where they hoped to have perform'd
 " Wonders; but were severely cudgelled away by the
 " People, who, being born to *Liberty*, may be com-
 " pared to a sort of Sheep, that give their Shepherd,
 " by Way of civil Acknowledgment only, a little Milk
 " in a certain *foal'd Measure*, but will not, like others,
 " suffer themselves to be *milk'd at Discretion*. From
 " thence, like the famous *Trojans* of old under the
 " Conduct of *Aeneas*, They put to Sea in their little
 " Skiff, and went plowing the briny Waves in Search
 " of new People and new Lands; where, to the
 " Praise, Glory and Benefit of Princes, and that eternal
 " Desolation of the People, which secures the Crown
 " on the Head of the Sovereign, they might have ex-
 "

“ exercised their Talent, and open’d a Shop to vent
“ their *Projects*.

“ When the *Virtuosi* heard This, they besought
“ *Apollo* publickly to revenge the Injuries done to so
“ many Nations; who, through the Wickedness of
“ that vile Race of Men, had been slay’d by their avaricious
“ Princes; and that he would cause them to
“ be burnt with the Fragments of their wreck’d Vessel.
“ *Apollo*, whose deep Judgment surpasses all human
“ Prudence, having heard the shameful Profession of
“ these vile Wretches, commanded that all Manner of
“ Civility should be shewn them, and their good Entertainment
“ doubled; and soon afterwards, having
“ supply’d them with Money, and Plenty of Provisions,
“ he sent them to *Constantinople*, with Orders to try
“ if, by their villainous Projects, they could reduce
“ the *Ottoman Empire*, that mortal Enemy to Learning,
“ to the same State of Desolation and Despair, to
“ which they boasted to have brought *France, Spain,*
“ and *Italy*.”

N.

I am, Sir, &c.



N^o 159. SATURDAY, July 19, 1729.

USBECK to RUSTAN at ISPAHAN.



ERE live a Sort of useful Men, who are
called *Mathematicians*. They assert; but
they prove what they assert by Reason.
They believe nothing but what they demonstrate; yet do they foretel heavenly
Events. They know the Path of the Planets. They
foresee and foretel, to the smallest Point of Time,
when

when that *great Luminary, the Nurse of Nature*, will be shadowed by the Interposition of the *Moon*. I am enter'd of this Sect of Philosophers. This Day about five in the Evening the *Moon* made her Path under the Body of that glorious Planet. A fourth Part of him seem'd to us to be extinguish'd. His Beams shot a fainter Light, and wore a silver Hue; when a Cloud interpos'd, and eclips'd the Eclipse. The Philosopher, our Master, was stopp'd in the Middle of his Lecture. He is accounted an honest, but a whimsical Man. He gets his Bread out of the *Stars*. The *Dervises* here, of whose Order he was, would not suffer him to eat with them, because he could not assent to some Tenets, in his Opinion, not entirely agreeable to *Mathematical Truths*. He chose to run the Hazard of Starving, rather than to conform; yet is he very warm in Opinions as difficult to be reconciled to natural Reason. Yes, he would be overjoy'd to die for them. This Man might live very comfortably, if he could make, as well as he foresees *Eclipses*.

This Learning in the Stars, *Rustan*, was originally with us. Now the *Europeans* may be our Masters. This Doctrine opens and enlarges the Mind, and throws before it a more extended View of the Works of Omnipotence. The Thoughts of the Vulgar are narrow and unworthy of that *Being*, from the Breath of whose Nostrils all Things arose. When we see numberless Worlds around us, in comparison of which this Globe is less than the smallest visible Point, of which it is compos'd; when we may with Reason believe that there are Worlds without Number, which cannot be discovered by the naked Eye; we may blush for our Ignorance and our Impiety, if we presume to confine his Power to *this Speck*.

Astronomical Knowledge has been much improved by *Glasses* of a modern Invention. By These, we enlarge our Views of the *heavenly Bodies*. We pry into the Secrets of Nature. We discover the Inequalities and Plains

Plains of Water in the Moon, and mark the constant and regular Revolutions of the Planets. By *Glasses* of another Make, we are capable of discerning particularly the minutest Object. We may, by the help of These, perceive the Muscles of a *Flea*, and be able to dissect a *Mite*. By these *Glasses* we discover in what Manner the Blood of Men and Animals moves in a continual Round. I have seen the vital Fluid circulate in the Veins of a *Fish*. I have likewise seen, by the Aid of these Lights, Myriads of Creatures indued with Life and Motion, whose whole habitable Globe was the Superficies of a *Plumb*; and could the *Virtuosi*, who work thus curiously on *Glass*, improve their Art a little farther, perhaps the visual Faculty might be so far aided and refined as to discern a Nation of *Animalcula* existing even upon these Atoms on the *Plumb*; and Philosophers, from this visible Extension of Life, might explain to the meanest Understanding the infinite Divisibility of Matter. I expect not to be believed by People of ordinary Capacities. They will imagine that I use the Authority of a Traveller; but Thou knowest my Love of Truth. I search after it continually. My Soul receives Life and Warmth from every Notion conformable to it.

These knowing Infidels carry their Disquisitions yet farther. They have formed an *Engine*, by which they rarify the Air, and attenuate that thin Body to such a Degree, as to cause all Things placed within it to be of equal Weight; so that a *Feather* and a *Ball of Lead* seem to gravitate alike. They are Masters of Life and Death. I have seen an Animal expiring in this Machine one Moment, by exhausting the Air; and the next restored, by letting in again the Quantity of Life, which it had been deprived of. These Philosophers affirm, that all this Mass of Matter, on which we exist, is held together by *Attraction*. What that *Power* is, they pretend not to determine; but when it ceases, the Elements, they say, will lose their Texture, and

fall back again into their first Confusion. May I perish, *Russian*, if this *Mathematician* has not filled my Head so full with the Desire of Knowledge, that I wish immediately to take Wing through our Atmosphere into some neighbouring World, and take a farther View into the Works of the *Omnipotent*.

Were it possible, *Russian*, for these Artists to compose *Glasses*, that could discover the Workings of the human Soul, and lay open to our View the various Passions of our frail Nature, Man would start at the Sight of Man, and behold him yet altogether savage and uncivilized. For Example, had we *political Glasses*, and could by their Aid look into the inward, intricate and awkward Motions of the Mind of a *modern Statesman*, (a modern *European Statesman* I mean) should we not behold a strange, wild and contradictory Jumble of Principles and Passions? Now, you would see *this Statesman*, as he calls himself, pretending to form *Schemes*, unknowing what they are, or to what they tend. Now, you would see him busily employed in supporting *Liberty* by the Aid of *Tyranny*; maintaining *Trade* by destroying *Manufactures*, and raising *publick Credit* by robbing the *Publick*; bungling, plunging, floundring on from one false Step to another; still held down by the Nose to *ill-concerted Treaties* by a Politician a little wiser than Himself; lavishing the Nation's Gold in vain; while He and the rest of the World behold with Astonishment his Country's once glorious Arms bound down, and rendered useless by *wicked Stipulations*; yet dares He not discover to his Prince the Condition, to which he has reduced him and his People. Now, you might behold the Muscles of his Heart dilating with Hope, that the Force of his Gold will at last prevail, and save him from Destruction; then shrinking at new Demands and Threats from his *Friends* and *Allies*. Now, he sucks in Clouds of Incense from his Superiors, *Pensioners*, *Placemen*, *Bribe-mongers*, *Slaves* and *Dependants*. Now, he creeps, cringes,

cringes, flatters and bows to lordly *Things*, as low as his meanest Flatterers.

The *first Minister*, in most of the Courts of *Europe*, is a Sort of a *Vice-Roy*; it being the Custom here, as with us, for their Emperors to leave the Business of Government to *Deputies*, and to *king it by Proxy*; with this Difference only, that the *offending Statesman*, or *Minister* here, must be tried by *Forms of Law*, tho' the Goods are found upon him; that is, tho' the Spoils of the Publick are to be daily seen about him, in *Lands, Houses, Horses, Jewels, Pictures, Plate, Slaves*, and *ready Money*; tho' he outshines in Splendor the *antient Nobility*, and carries the infamous *Testimony* of his plundering the Publick continually about him. The Emperor does not send him the *summary Bowstring*, but awaits the Judgment of the *Law* upon him.

Yet, if we could have our *political Glass*, we should see him, notwithstanding his outward Appearance of Tranquility and Joy, dreading a future Accusation, and expecting the Loss of his *Liberty*, his *Gold*, his *Life*; intreating only to be stript of the Trappings of Wealth and Dignities that load him heavily, and desiring to descend naked and with Safety; yet still going on hourly to abuse his Trust; thrusting into his Prince's Ears *continual Falshoods*; taking from him every Day the *Hearts of his Subjects*; shutting out every *honest and wise Man* from his Presence; hedging and inclosing him round with his *own Creatures*; not suffering him to attend to the Cries of an *injured People*, and pursuing one constant Scene of *Treachery, Rapine and Oppression*—This is the noxious *Caterpillar*, which is sometimes permitted, in these Countries, to prey on that fair Flower, *Liberty*—I will tell thee, *Rustian*, these People have, some of them, enjoy'd this inestimable Blessing, till they are surfeited with it. It is the Child of *Virtue*, and *Temperance* is its Nurse. It will not thrive in a luxuriant Soil; and

when it is once driven away by *Intemperance* and *Corruption*, it rarely has been known to return—But let me go on and tell thee, that by *these Glasses*, we might now and then have the Pleasure to see the Heart of this *Devourer* beating quick, convulsed, and dreading a *periodical Drop of Ink*, which sinks into his Liver from the Point of a Pen, and sours the whole Mass of his Blood. You might behold him tossed with various *Jealousies* and *Fears*; without one *suspected Friend*. You might observe him to be thrust on by *Those*, who hold him by the *Secret*, into new Crimes every Moment; while he hears the Execrations of a *whole People*, and his Repose at Night is broken with the Consciousness of his Guilt, and the constant Apprehensions of Justice.

How is it that an *inglorious Man* is able thus to support the Horrors of *Reflection*? What is *Ambition*, and the *Ornaments* of it? Will the wearing of *Ribbons* or *Feathers*, or being called the Master of various and costly Buildings and Furniture, or the drinking of precious Wines, or the feeding of Horses and Footmen, compensate for the Anxiety and Hazard and Horrors that a Man of this Turn must feel for having made a whole People miserable, and Mankind his Foe?—It These are, (and These are, I think, the common Temptations) every Man of Sense and Virtue must look down upon, and despise them.

I will tell thee, *Rustan*, and thou knowest it to be true. We have often settled it together. *Happiness consists in the Limitation of our Desires*. Could we think like Philosophers, we should know certainly that the Duration of our Being in this Form is confined but to a very few annual Revolutions of this little Globe we inhabit; that this Composition, wonderful as it is, must soon break and be moulded by the great Creator into new Matter as wonderful; and that in order to taste true Knowledge, which is the greatest Pleasure, we must preserve our Understandings as much

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as we are able from the Bias of Passion, that we may take a clearer and a more distinct View of this little Part of the Works of *Alha*; after which, if the Spirit, which animates This, shall inform some new Matter, or take a more glorious Modification; who knows, *Ruffan*, but these Enquiries into the Wisdom of our Prophet, may make us capable of enjoying a more enlarged Happiness, and qualify us to receive and to taste Truth? R.



N^o 160. SATURDAY, *July 26, 1729.*

*Rem nulli obscuram, nostra nec vocis egentem,
Consulis, O bone Rex. Cuncti se scire fatentur
Quid Fortuna ferat Populi, sed dicere mussant.
Des Libertatem fandi, Flatusque remittat,
Cujus ob Auspicium infaustum moreque sinistros,
(Dicam equidem, licet Arma mihi, mortemq; minatur)
Lumina tot cecidisse Ducum, totamque videmus
Confedisse urbem Luctu.* VIRGIL.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,



T hath always been esteemed a very difficult Matter to discover the secret Springs, which influence the Actions of Princes, and set the great Affairs of the World in Motion. This Difficulty may arise, as it often does, from two very different Causes. *Statesmen*, of great Abilities, make it their chief Care to

* Mr. FRANKLIN was taken up for this Paper; but upon offering to produce his Author, He was discharg'd without Bail.

conceal their real Desigas, by artful Disguises and Amusements, till they are ripe for Execution; and *little Politicians*, from an awkward Affectation of the same Craft, run into wild Schemes at Random, without considering, or having Penetration enough to discern the natural Effects of them; by which means They often negotiate Themselves and their Country into Difficulties and Confusions, of which no Body, upon Retrospection and Enquiry, is able to discover the *original Cause*.

The Affairs of *Europe* have been, for several Years past, in a very unsettled and perplexed Condition; and yet no Body seems able to assign the true Reason of these Disturbances; or to inform us with any Certainty from what Source they flow'd. Perhaps Those, who are able to do This, may not be willing. At present, it is a Mystry in Politicks, which it is in vain for us to endeavour to explain.

The Clouds seem'd at first to gather in the *North*, and to threaten a *religious War*. Every Body remembers how our Passions were industriously raised, for above a Year together, in behalf of our unfortunate Brethren, who were most inhumanly persecuted at *Thorn*. The Cruelty and Injustice of that Affair were represented in the strongest Colours. Addresses were sent up from all Parts of the Kingdom, expressing the Thanks of the People for the great Care, which his Majesty took to support the Profession of the true Faith even in distant Countries; and we were instructed to talk of nothing less than pulling the King of *Poland* off his Throne, if He did not make us immediate Satisfaction for such an Insult on the *Protestant Religion*. But when our Resentment was justly work'd up to the highest Pitch, the Thing was suffered to die away by Degrees; the poor Protestants of *Thorn* (if they were ever injured) remain still unredress'd; and I do not hear that their Case, which gave us the first Alarm,

Alarm, hath ever been so much as mentioned, or offered to be mentioned, at the Congress of *Soliffon*.

We were at that Time, as to all outward Appearance, upon good Terms with the Emperor and the King of Spain, who had just before acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*; by which his Catholic Majesty once more gave up all Claims and Pretensions to *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*; unless the *publick Treaty*, which secured that Fortress to us, was invalidated by a *secret Article* for its Restitution.

Nay, so perfectly happy was the Situation of our Affairs at this Time, that in his late Majesty's Speech to his Parliament, on the 12th of November 1724, we find the following Words. *PEACE with all POWERS abroad, at home perfect Tranquillity, Plenty and an uninterrupted Enjoyment of all civil and religious Rights, are most distinguishing Marks of the Favour and Protection of the divine Providence; and These, with all their happy Consequences, will, I doubt not, by the Blessing of God upon our joint Endeavours, be long continued to my People.*

But, all of a sudden, and without any visible Cause, there was another Gathering of Clouds from a Calm, not to be paralleld by any past Prospect; and what is very remarkable, these Clouds have continued gathering ever since, and almost miraculously suspended in the Air, contrary to the common Course of Nature, and all the known Laws of Gravitation. Indeed, they have burst upon Us at several Times, in a violent Manner, and done us infinite Mischief; nor do they seem to be yet discharged; but other Nations, which seemed to be equally threatned with the breaking of these Clouds, have enjoy'd a perfect Calm, undisturbed by Us, amidst continued Insults, Hostilities and Depredations; a Calm, which is not indeed to be paralleld by any past Prospect!

The Publication of the *Vienna Treaty* struck us with terrible Apprehensions. The Conjunction of the
Emperor

Emperor and the King of *Spain* (who had been old, inveterate Enemies) seem'd so *unaccountable* to our *Politicians*, that they concluded there must be some very bad Design at the Bottom, which it was not yet proper to reveal. This produced the *Treaty of Hanover*, and occasioned that close Conjunction between *Us* and *France*, which some People have taken the Liberty to think equally *unaccountable*.

It hath been said, in Justification of this Negotiation, that the *Treaty of Vienna* made a *Counter-Alliance* absolutely necessary; and that *France* was the only Power left, which was able effectually to support us against so formidable an Union. *This Treaty* therefore was concerted, concluded and signed soon after the *Treaty of Vienna*. The King of *Prussia* acceded to it, and was some Time after followed by *Holland*, *Sweden*, and some other *minor Powers*, under certain Limitations and Conditions. The *Vienna Alliance* was likewise strengthened by the Accession of other States; and the chief Powers of *Europe* being thus engaged on one Side or the other, it was generally expected that a War would soon break out, tho' both Parties pretended to stand only on their *Defence*. Perhaps, I must not be allowed to say that we have been actually involved in all the Miseries of a War; but I am sure we have been far from enjoying the Blessings of *Peace*. It hath been an odd Jumble of Affairs, between one and the other; for which *Machiavel* Himself would be at a Loss to account.

But as the Consequences of *these Treaties* and *these Measures* have chiefly affected *Us*, I will endeavour to set them in a short and a clear Light.——By *Consequences* I mean (according to the natural Sense of the Word) the *Events*, which have follow'd *these Measures*, without implying that they could be avoided, or that any *particular Persons* are answerable for them.

Though it was declared, on both Sides, that the *Treaties*, which *They* had made, were *defensive* only, yet

yet They discover'd the utmost Rancour against each other, and even proceeded to such *Language*, as is seldom used between Nations, that are actually at *War*. It was apprehended on our Part (nay it was asserted with the utmost Confidence) that besides the *Treaties of Peace and Commerce*, sign'd at *Vienna* and made publick, their *Imperial and Catholick* Majesties had enter'd into *secret Engagements* of the most dangerous Consequence to *Great Britain*; such as wresting *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, and setting the *Presender* on the Throne; and though his *Imperial* Majesty thought fit to disclaim any such *Engagements, or Designs*, in the most solemn Manner, his *Protestations* were so far from having any Effect, that his *Minister*, whom He commanded to make them, in his Name, was ordered to depart the Kingdom in a very precipitate Manner, and Measures were taken to prevent the Execution of these Schemes. Our *Land Forces* were increas'd; and lest the King of *Spain* should make any ill Use of the *Treasure*, which was expected at that Time from the *West-Indies*, we put our selves to a vast Expence (without any Assistance from our *Allies*, who were at least equally concern'd) in sending a large Squadron of Ships to block up this *Treasure* in *Portobello*, and even to take it, if it was to be taken by *Persuasion*. How They *succeeded*, and what great Use They were of towards expediting the Peace of *Europe*, is well known.

These gentle Measures were chosen, as we have been since told, in order to avoid giving any Provocation, or just Offence to the King of *Spain*; but He was so unreasonable as to think the *stopping* his Ships only an Act of *Hospitality*, and resent'd it accordingly. He gave immediate Orders for seizing the Effects of the *South-Sea* Company, to a very great Value, at *la vera Cruz*, and for taking our Ships at Sea, not by *Persuasion*, but by *Force*; which were executed with great Constancy and Success. He likewise laid a
vigorous

vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*, and obliged us to defend it, at a great Expence, for several Months together, without any Assistance from our *Allies*, either by Sea or Land. At length *Preliminaries* were sign'd; and a *Cessation* of Hostilities was agreed on, till a *Peace* could be concluded; which were punctually executed on our Part. We order'd the Fleet, which had laid rotting so long at the *Bastimento's*, to withdraw; and suffer'd the *Galleons* to return, with all their Riches, to *old Spain*; in Hopes that his Catholick Majesty would immediately have caused the Effects to be distributed to the *Proprietors*; that He would have order'd the Ship *Prince Frederick* and her Cargo to be restor'd, and have put a Stop to the Depredations committed on our Merchants; none of which, as far as I can learn, are yet done; though stipulated by the *Preliminaries* and the Articles of *Cessation*.

What is most to be lamented in this Affair is, that though our Enemies have continued to use us in such a Manner, for so many Years, we have been restrained, by some *political Considerations*, from doing our selves Justice, and have had no Opportunity of exerting that Power, which Providence hath put into our Hands. I speak from *Authority*, Mr. D'Anvers; from the *highest Authority*; and therefore you may publish it with Safety. Observe the following Paragraph in his present Majesty's Speech, at his opening the first Session of this Parliament, Jan. 27. 1727.

" I am very sensible of the disagreeable and uneasy
 " Situation, in which our Affairs have been for some
 " Time, and have been extremely concern'd to see
 " many of the Inconveniencies of a War, attending us;
 " without any Opportunity of resenting the Injuries we
 " sustain'd, or gaining any of those Advantages in Re-
 " turn, which the vigorous Prosecution of so just a
 " Cause and the Success of our Arms might probably
 " have secured to Us."

Since

Since that Time, we have been negotiating at *Soissons*, where a *Congress* was open'd above a Year ago. We have negotiated at *Paris*, *Compeigne*, and other Places, where the *French Court* hath resided; with what Success I leave the World to determine; though the Continuance of the united Squadron at *Spishhead* seems to justify our Apprehensions, that all Things are not yet brought to a final Accommodation.

This therefore is our Case. In the Year 1714, we were at Peace with *all Powers abroad*. The very next Year the Treaty of *Hanover* was signed; and at present we are so far from being at Peace *with all Powers abroad*, that we are embroiled with most of them. We have Disputes not only with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, but with the King of *Prussia*, our Ally; with the *Czar of Muscovy*, and the King of *Denmark*.—Such are the Consequences, or Events, that have followed (I do not say they were occasioned by) the Project of the *Hanover Treaty*.

We have been, for several Months, in Expectation of the King of *Spain's* last Resolutions; but whether the Dispatches, which *M. Bannieres* hath at length brought to *Paris*, are satisfactory to the Allies of *Hanover*, as it hath been confidently reported, Time must discover. However, it is hoped, that if the Wind should happen to come into the right Quarter, so that our Fleet may be able to sail, we shall not suffer our selves to be held much longer in Suspence by the Delays and Prevarications either of our *pretended Friends*, or *real Enemies*.

I am, S I R, &c.

A.

W. RALEIGH.

N^o 161. SATURDAY, August 2, 1729.

Venimus ad Summum Fortuna.——HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

Mr. D'Anvers,



YOU have frequently inveighed against *Corruption* in general, and forewarn'd us of the Effects, which it must naturally have on our Constitution, unless speedily restrain'd. You have exerted your laudable Endeavours to alarm our Apprehensions on this Account; to raise our Indignation against *Those*, who are the Authors and Promoters of it; and to excite our Zeal in opposing Them. Every wise and honest Man, I hope, thinks Himself obliged to you for these Writings, which with Pleasure I observe have not been altogether without Effect. But as it hath been objected by your Adversaries that *Fal-lacies lurk under general Assertions*, (which is very true in many Cases, whatever it may be in This) I wish you would descend a little more into *Particulars*; and, by a Review of the *present Age*, shew how generally depraved it is grown; how *Corruption* hath gain'd Ground amongst Men of almost all Orders and Professions; and what a Deluge of most pernicious Vices and Enormities it hath introduced.

Here,

Here, Sir, you will find a large Field to expatiate in, and too many Proofs, particular Proofs, of what you have so often asserted.

Luxury and *Extravagance*, with their constant Attendants, *Necessity* and *Prostitution*, are too visible in all Parts of the Kingdom; especially in this great City, where a general Spirit of *Prodigality* and *Excess* is seen to prevail (I wish I could not say it was encourag'd) amongst all Degrees of Men, from one End of the Town to the other. What can this produce at a Time, when there is such a general Stagnation of all Trade, but *Distress*, *Bankruptcy*, *Dependence*, and other numberless Evils to the Publick? And if *Extravagance* is of such mischievous Consequence in the Center of Trade, which draws all the Riches of the Kingdom to it; what terrible Effects must it produce in those Parts, which are constantly drain'd to support this great, over-grown *Leviathan*, and which can subsist only by *Labour*, *Industry* and *Frugality*?

You will find, Sir, that the abominable Crimes of *Perjury* and *Forgery* were never so frequent amongst us, as They have been of late; especially amongst Men of *Family* and *Fortune*. I need not put the Reader in Mind how many notorious Instances of this Kind the Course of a very few Years hath produced; and I am glad to decline it, out of Humanity to Those, who may unjustly suffer by a particular Enumeration.

I hope the *Bill*, which was lately pass'd to suppress this Evil, will have its Effect.

These, Mr. *D'Anvers*, are heinous Crimes; and very prejudicial to human Society. But the greatest political Evil is *Venality of Offices*; because I think it demonstrable that This is generally attended with *Corruption* in Office; which is the original Source, from whence all other political Evils may be properly said to flow.

The *Sale of Offices* is therefore to be principally avoided by a wise State; for if Places are to be sold, it is *Money*, not *Merit*, that will be the Qualification; and it a Person is to give away half the Profits of his Place to the Person, from whom He receiv'd it, He will endeavour to reimburse Himself by Extortion and Oppression. In the mean Time, Those, who are fit to supply the Places of Trust, will not accept of them, and the Insufficient only will fill them; as if the *Drawback of an Office* were but a kind of Compensation for the Defect of the *Officer's Capacity*.

Nay, if Men of *Merit* should be sometimes induced, by unequal Fortune, to submit to hard Terms; yet it is certain that when *Places* are brought to Market, they will generally be fill'd with Persons of ordinary Capacities; and the only Criterion of their Worth will be either the Weight of their Pockets to *give most*, or the Indigence of their Fortunes to *take least*.

This great Abuse of *buying and selling Places* hath always been treated with the utmost Detestation, whenever it hath been brought to Judgment. In the *Church* it is *Simony*, attended with great Penalties; and I do not see why it ought not to be made as infamous and dangerous in the *State*. What are the Consequences of it, we have lately seen in the Cases of the *Masters in Chancery* and the *Keepers of our Prisons*. It was come to such a Pass, that a poor Wretch could not be admitted to die a lingering, tormenting Death in a noisome Dungeon, without paying *exorbitant Fees* for it.

The late glorious (and I hope immortal) Act, against *Bribery* and *Corruption*, seems to guard very well against the Venality of Parliament; so that now, it is to be wish'd, nothing will be sought for but *Merit* in the Candidate; and Men of *Capacity*, *Fortune* and *Freedom of Judgment* only will be introduced into that Assembly.

If venal Abuses were to grow in the *Senate* and the *Administration*, it would be difficult to invent a Punishment severe enough for the Promoters of such an Evil, which is of so contagious a Nature, being attended with *Profit*, that if it is once countenanced amongst the *Great*, it soon spreads amongst the lower Class of Men. I remember an Instance, in low Life, of an Abuse of this Kind, which hath made the Offender justly detested by all Those, to whom his Wickedness was known; which was aggravated by the Character of the Person, who was a *Clergyman*. The Case was This.

A Gentleman being desirous, on his Death-Bed, to do a generous Act, which might out-live Him, left by his Will, amongst other Charities, an handsome Allowance for a *School-Master*, to instruct a Number of poor Boys in the christian Religion, to assist them in a proper Education to get an honest Livelihood. This Part of his Will was left to Trustees; amongst whom was my *Clergyman*; a bold, troublesome, over-bearing Creature, always creating Animosities and Divisions; and a common *Barreter* in his Country; which soon made it very disagreeable to the rest of the *Trustees* to act with him; so that he got the whole to himself, and accordingly made a *political Use* of it; put in a *poor, ignorant Woman*, who was fitter to be taught herself than to instruct others; from whom he received, in Imitation of his *Betters*, a yearly Allowance of what the *Donor* directed; and because he would be more fashionable and get all he could, no Boy was permitted to receive the Benefit of this Charity, who did not first shake him handsomely by the Palm. This little mean Avarice, and sordid Wickedness, in robbing the *Poor*, hath made him justly obnoxious to the Hatred of the whole Neighbourhood. I mention This only as an Instance how some Men, for the meerest Trifle, will prostitute their Consciences and Profession, and will forfeit a good Name, for the

Advantage of a little Gain. How glad would any honest Man be, to have such an Opportunity to do Good at another Man's Cost; to feed the Hungry and instruct the Ignorant, both the greatest Works of Charity, and This without Expence? A good Man would rejoice in This; but what must that Man be, who rejects the Occasion, and, which is worse, perverts it; who renders the good Intention of another of none or very little Effect, and This only to gratify his own Avarice? A Man of this Bent of Mind wants only the Opportunity, and he would without Remorse rob the *Exchequer*; raise *heavy Taxes* on the People; bribe with *50,000 l.* Those, who would give him *100,000 l.* A Man, by this low Instance, gives a plain Indication what he would do in the highest Offices, could he obtain them; and if a Person procures the just Hatred of his Parish and Neighbourhood, by injuring a few, what Indignation must arise against *Those*, who by *publick Misapplication* should occasion *publick Miseries*; and who should pillage and rob the Subject, in order to make good the *Deficiencies of his own Mismanagement*, and to enable him the better to get more when *farther Mismanagements* should cause *farther Deficiencies*.—Such a *Minister* would soon tire out the most giving People; and the Repentment of the People, in their Turn, from Murmurs, Discontents, and universal Clamour, would soon teach him that *Ministers* are answerable for their Actions; that there is a King above them that will hearken to the Cries of his People; and punish, severely punish Him, as soon as his Crimes are ripe for Judgment; but This can now scarce ever happen in *England*. The Act against *Bribery* has so far secured the *Freedom of Parliament*, that henceforward it will be very difficult for an *evil Minister* to escape their jealous discerning Eye. His wicked Projects will be nipt in the Bud; and the Nation saved from the pernicious Consequences, which the Execution of them would draw upon it.

We

We shall see, *as we have lately done*, our *Parliaments* paying due Honour to the wise and prudent Management of our *Ministers*, and our *Ministers* answering their Place and Character; opening, without Reserve or Fear, the Springs of their Actions and Conduct; and making the World Judges of their disinterested and wise Measures; *Ministers*, who will *ask for Money only when it's wanted*, and will justly and clearly *account for it when disbursed*. By this Act a *Ministry*, being always under the Inspection of an *unbiassed Parliament*, can have no Views but what are honourable; and their greatest Honour will be to meet with publick Approbation. Such a *Ministry*, joined with the *Prince*, will be doing all the Good their high Stations enable them to do, in order to deserve the People's just Blessings and Applause:

In short, if our *Constitution* is the best in the World, and our *Liberty* the natural Result of our Constitution; if the *Parliament* is the Guardian of *Liberty*, and *Freedom* the Essence of *Parliament*; our *Constitution* may be now said to have received from *this Act*, one of the greatest Securities that human Wisdom can contrive, or add to it; for it's *Excellence* will preserve it from a *Repeal*, and it's *Clearness* and *Simplicity*, capable to be understood by the meanest Capacity, will preserve it from an *Explanation*.

Q.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS Monsieur Bannieres was robb'd, on the Road between Port St. Mary's and PARIS, of several Papers, of great Importance to the Tranquility of Europe; This is to give Notice, that if the Person, who took them, will restore them to Mr. H. Balance, Peace-Broker, at the Sign of the golden Scales in La Rue

G 3

St.

St. Honorée at Paris, before Christmas next, he shall receive the Sum of 500,000*l*. and no Questions ask'd; or if any other Person will apprehend the said Robber, so that he may be convicted, or restore the said Papers, so much wanted, to the Gentleman before-mentioned, he shall receive the same Reward.

Witness my Hand,

H. BALLANCE.

N.B. The PERSON, who committed the Robbery is well known; and if he does not restore them before the Time specified, his Name will be advertised at full Length.



N^o 162. SATURDAY, August 9, 1729.

Diruit, adificat, mutat. Quadrata Rotundis. HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



HOUGH the Report, which was confidently spread abroad, upon the Arrival of M. Bannieres at Paris, that a final Accommodation was concluded with Spain, upon Terms perfectly agreeable to the Allies of Hanover, is pretty much blown over; yet we are still flatter'd with Hopes and Assurance, from a certain Quarter, that his Catholick Majesty hath consented to something, which, though not decisive, tends to forward the Negotiations at Soissons, and lays a Foundation for the Tranquillity of Europe.

We have not yet received the least Information from Authority whether there really is any such Expedient, or what it is; but as this great Affair of Peace hath
long

long employ'd the Speculation of all *Europe*, and deserves the Attention of *Great Britain* more than of any other State, because the *Wants* of it affects *Us* more than the Subjects of any other State; it cannot be improper to examine the Accounts, which have been lately published in several Papers, both *foreign* and *domestick*.

We were at first told, in general, by these Writers, "that his *Catholick Majesty* seem'd inclinable to accept the Propositions, which had been made to Him on the Part of *Great Britain*; but that He could not give his *final Answer* till the Return of a Courier, whom He had dispatch'd to *Vienna* for his *Imperial Majesty's* Resolutions upon them."

We have been since informed more particularly, by the same Writers, that "One of these Propositions was, immediately to send a Body of 12,000 *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, to secure the Succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia* for the Infant *Don Carlos*, upon the Demise of the Princes now reigning."

I think We may assert with Safety that this Account cannot be true; and that no such Proposition hath been made on our Part, when we consider the Conduct of *some Gentlemen*, for several Years past, on this very Account; and the Bustle that hath been made about the growing Greatness of *Don Carlos*, who was represented in the *Enquiry* (a Book, known to be written with their *Approbation* at least) as so formidable a Prince, that he seem'd to threaten all *Europe*, even in his Minority, with *universal Monarchy*. By the Death of his *Father* and his *elder Brother* without Issue, (who are neither of them yet dead) He was to be King of *Spain*. By the Death of his present *most Christian Majesty* without *Male Issue*, (who is also still alive) and the non-Efficacy of the late *Renunciations*, He was to be King of *France*; and by his Marriage with the *eldest Arch-Duchess of Austria*, (which hath not been since mentioned) He

was to have been *Emperor of Germany*.—Is it reasonable therefore to suppose that *We*, who seemed to be so very apprehensive of the Strength of this *young Gentleman* three Years ago, by the Conjunction of these *three Powers*, should ever make a Proposal to strengthen Him still more, by the Addition of several large *Italian Dominions*? For though no Part of this *Schema* hath yet taken Effect, *Don Carlos* hath still the same Chance for *universal Monarchy*; the same Chance to be *Emperor*, King of *Spain* and King of *France*, as He had when the *Enquiry* was written; and therefore it is equally our Interest to guard against such a *terrible Contingency*.

The Author of the *Enquiry* observes indeed very justly, that “by the *Treaty of London*, July 22, 1718, “*Don Carlos*, Son to the present Queen, was established in the Succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*; and This consented to by the *Emperor*, “who alone was capable of disturbing it; and effectually guaranty’d by the Powers of *Britain* and “*France*.”——But This was long before the *Treaty of Vienna* was form’d, and establish’d that *unaccountable Conjunction* between the *Empire* and *Spain*, which alarm’d us with such dreadful Apprehensions.

Another *Writer*, who often appears on the same Side of the Question with the *Enquiry*, hath gone farther; and, no longer ago than *January* last, told us that this *Succession of Don Carlos* (without any Supposition of *universal Monarchy*) was contrary to the Interests of all the Princes of *Europe*; and though it might be stipulated by the *Treaty of London*, as mentioned in the *Enquiry*, was strenuously opposed at the Congress at *Cambray*, which was open’d in Pursuance of *that Treaty*, even by *those Powers*, who consented to it and undertook to *guaranty it*—His Words are as follows.

“A Congress assembled in that Place, (*Cambray*) “pursuant to the *Treaty of London*, in order to reconcile *Germany* and *Spain*.

“ But

" But the *Emperor*, having already obtained his
 " Desires in the Affair of *Sicily*, wanted nothing
 " more, and was unwilling to be reconciled with
 " *Spain*, as He had no good Will to the *Succession* so
 " often mentioned.

" Because a Prince, in Possession of *Parma* and *Tus-*
 " *cany*, assisted by the Treasures, the Fleets and Forces
 " of *Spain*, might with the greatest Ease subdue the
 " *Austrian* Territories, *Sicily*, *Milan* and *Naples*.

" The Family *de Medicis*, Grand Dukes of *Tuscany*,
 " (though the *Male Line* will be extinct in the Person
 " of the present Prince) strenuously asserted, their
 " Dominions were not *Fiefs* of the *Empire*, and that
 " the *Succession* could not be dispos'd of.

" The House of *Parma* were equally unwilling *Don*
 " *Carlos* should be Sovereign of *that Dutchy*.

" The *French* had a great Aversion to the *Project*,
 " as it might prove the Coalition of all the little States
 " of *Italy*, and make *Don Carlos* a Match for Them-
 " selves in *Lombardy*; nor hath there been an Instance
 " like it, on that Side the *Alps*, these many Ages.

" The Kingdom of *Great Britain* had also as much
 " Reason to *oppose* and *prevent* it.

" Since, if *Don Carlos* should ever succeed to *Tus-*
 " *cany*, *LEGHORN*, the Mart of our *Mediterranean*
 " *Trade*, will be in his Possession; and consequently
 " *Spain* will have Power, at any Time, to deprive us
 " of Commerce in the *Levant*, as well as the *West-*
 " *Indies*.

" In which Case, it will be *nearly the same*, as if
 " we give up *GIBRALTAR* and *PORT-MAHON*; because
 " those Places will be of *little Service* to our *Medi-*
 " *terranean* Commerce, when the Marts of that
 " Trade shall intirely exclude us from all Traffick.

" The House of *Savoy*, the Court of *Rome*, the
 " Republicks of *Venice*, *Genoa*, &c. were likewise
 " very strong in their Opposition to *this Design*, and

" *Self*.

" *Self-Preferon* would not allow them to consent to it.

" This therefore being the *great Point* debated at the Congress of *Cambray*, who can wonder at the Length of those Negotiations, which were naturally litigated by the strenuous Opposition all the Powers of *Europe* made to the *Succession of Don Carlos*?

" Yet still the *Spaniards* were eagerly desirous of the *Italian Succession*; and though their Success had hitherto been very unfortunate, They proposed notwithstanding to obtain it at the Congress of *Soissons*.

" They were convinced *this Nation* would never surrender *Gibraltar*.

" And They consider'd we want nothing more than a *Restitution of our Ships and Effects*, together with an *open Commerce*.

" Therefore They attempted to effect their Intentions, by making the *Succession of Don Carlos* an Equivalent for the Terms We desire.

" ALL the Powers of *Europe*, nay the *Imperialists* themselves are, as I have shew'd, oblig'd by Interest to oppose *that Project*; and as it delay'd and perplex'd the Congress of *Cambray*, so it hath produced the same Litigation at *Soissons*.

" And in Truth it could not be otherwise; for it will not be easy to persuade so many Powers to consent *Spain* should carry this Point.

" Nor can the Court of *Madrid* be willing to recede from a Purpose it hath prosecuted many Years with the greatest Zeal and Application."

The same Kind of Arguments was likewise made use of *within Doors* by a certain, honourable Gentleman, who hath had, for some Years, the principal Management of our Negotiations abroad. He assur'd us, with great Confidence, of the dangerous Designs of the *Queen of Spain*; that she was ambitious of making

making her *Son* sole Monarch of *Lombardy*, and erecting an Empire in the Heart of *Italy*; with a great deal more to the same Effect.

If therefore the *Succession* of *Don Carlos* was contrary to the Interests of all the Powers of *Europe* in *January* last; what Reason can be assign'd why it is otherwise now? — If it was *strenuously oppos'd*, as such, at the Congress of *Cambray*, and the last Assembly of the Congress at *Soissons*; how can we expect that it will not be oppos'd by the same Powers, and for the same Reasons, at the next Assembly? — Or, if They could be all negotiated into this Project by the excellent Address of our Ministers; what Advantage would it be of to us, if these Arguments are valid? — Why should we put our selves to much Trouble, or Expence, to procure the *Succession* of *Tuscany*, &c. for *Don Carlos*, as an Equivalent for *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, if his Possession of the former will be nearly the same as our giving up the latter, and render them of little Service to our Mediterranean Trade?

For these Reasons, I am inclined to give no Credit to the Account, which hath been lately published, that We have made any *Proposals*, of this Kind, to the Court of *Spain*; which seem to be equally inconsistent with our Schemes and our Interest. It is the Part of great Ministers to fix, with Judgment, on certain Points; which They ought to keep constantly in their Eye, and pursue with inflexible Steadiness and Resolution. Men, who are always changing their Counsels, and will suffer Themselves to be diverted from their Designs by every little Incident that starts up in their Way, or by the Delusions and Procrastinations of false Friends, will never succeed, unless it be by Chance; which is meer Gaming in Politicks, and putting the Fate of Kingdoms upon the Cast of a Dye.

The great Point, which We seem to have had in View, during the Rupture, and the chief Term we
now

now insist upon, besides Reparation to our *Merchants*, is the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; which I cannot help thinking we might have, long ago, oblig'd the *Spaniards* to comply with, (without any such *Equivalents* as would render the Possession of them *useless*) had it not been equally the *Design*, and for the *Advantage* of some other Powers to see them wrested out of our Hands; and if That be the Case, what rational Grounds can we have to expect that They will ever be so complaisant as to sacrifice their own *Interest* to *ours*?

I wish some Gentlemen would take the Pains, at this Time, attentively to review their favourite Book the *Enquiry*; in which They will find many bitter Sarcasms on *supine Indolence* and *Inactivity*; on *smooth Words without Meaning*, *Amusements of Congresses*, or *Embassies*, or *Negotiations*; and on *spending our whole Time in sending and receiving FRUITLESS MESSAGES backwards and forwards in such a critical Conjunction*—I would particularly recommend to their serious Perusal the following *Questions*, which that *Author* hath drawn up (p. 110.) and tells us, that every *Briton* would have had a Right to ask them, had not our *Ministers* preferr'd *vigorous Measures of Self-Defence* to such *vain Amusements* and *Delusions*.

“ Is This the Usage fit to be given to a brave and
 “ considering People? Is This the Watchfulness of
 “ Those, whose Duty it is to attend to every distant
 “ View of Danger? Or do they think so meanly of
 “ Us and the whole Nation, that we can see nothing
 “ but what we feel; and that we have a Sense of no
 “ Evil but what is present; or that we are so made
 “ that a little Expence (He might have said a great
 “ Expence) would affright us from preserving our All;
 “ or reduced to so low a Condition of Poverty, that
 “ we can't purchase, or furnish out even *Self-Defence*
 “ to our selves? Were not other Princes and States
 “ threaten'd by the same Danger; and ready to unite
 “ with

“ with us? Must *our Fleet*, the *Glory* (as it is called)
 “ of this Land, *lie still* and *decay*, rather than be
 “ made our *Bulwark*? Our *Fleet*, falsely called our
 “ *Glory*, but indeed our *Shame*, whilst it is laid aside
 “ as *useless*, at a Time when *That alone* might make
 “ us look too formidable in *Europe*, to be *insulted* or
 “ *affronted*? Or, does even this *Expence*, which cir-
 “ culates chiefly amongst ourselves, appear too for-
 “ midable to a Nation, which Those around it *envy*,
 “ as the Centre of *Riches* and *Plenty*? But why do we
 “ speak of *Expence*? It is this Method of *Indolence*
 “ and *Inactivity*, upon such an Occasion, which must
 “ bring after it an *Expence* much greater in itself, and
 “ much more hazardous in its Effect, as *Time* shall
 “ add Strength to the Danger threaten’d; an *Expence*,
 “ which must increase our *Debt* and, at the same
 “ Time, *diminish the Hope of paying it*. What Ac-
 “ count can we give of *such a Treatment of this Na-*
 “ *tion*? As we can find *none* in all the known Mea-
 “ sures of *political Prudence*, we must search for it
 “ *somewhere else*.—There must be *secret Reasons* for
 “ such a Conduct; and perhaps *These* may lie in the
 “ *Riches of Spain*, suffer’d to *come safely home*, to
 “ strengthen and consolidate the *most dangerous Con-*
 “ *junction*, that ever yet appeared in *Europe*.

“ This and much more (*says that eminent Writer*)
 “ might justly be urged, upon the Supposition of a
 “ *negligent* and *unactive Conduct* in this Crisis of Dan-
 “ ger; and what Reply to make to it, I profess I
 “ think it *utterly impossible to tell*.”

I can add nothing to This, Mr. D’Anvers, but that
 I heartily wish, for the Sake of the *Author*, it may
 not be interpreted into a *Libel*.

A

I am, S I R, &c.

W. RALEIGH.



N^o 163. SATURDAY, August 16. 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

IN my last, I sent you some Observations on the *Succession of Don Carlos to the Italian Dominions*; which is said to be one of the chief Terms of the projected Accommodation with *Spain*. I gave you my Reasons why I could not believe this Report to be true; particularly since it was represented, in *January* last, both *within Doors* and *without*, as an Expedient, which would make even the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* of little Service to us, and was contrary to the Interest of *all the Powers of Europe*, who strenuously oppos'd it at the Congresses of *Cambray* and *Soissons*. What powerful Charm hath been since made Use of to quell this general Opposition, I know not; but as the same Report continues and seems to gain Ground, I beg Leave to add a few more Thoughts on that Subject.

It was said, that the Conditions of this Accommodation with *Spain* would be *perfectly agreeable to the Allies of Hanover, but not to the Emperor*; and yet We were told, that the Reason why the Particulars were not immediately published was, *that the Court of Spain desired first to know the Emperor's Opinion about them*——But let That pass.

Though the unhappy Situation of our Affairs, for several Years past, may have made us so desirous of a
Peace,

Peace, as to give up all the most considerable Advantages of *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar* for it; yet can it be supposed that *France* (which is one of the chief *Allies of Hanover*) will be easily induced to make the same Sacrifice, by yielding to a *Succession*, which it hath long and justly opposed, if what hath been asserted is true, that it *will make* Don Carlos a *Match for Themselves in Lombardy*? I hope it will not be thought incumbent upon *Us* to make the *French* an Equivalent for this Concession, which is of it self so very disadvantageous to one of the chief Branches of our Commerce.

As to the *Emperor*, I must observe, that the Dominions of *Tuscany* are declared, in the *Treaty of London*, to be a *masculine Fief of the Empire*; and therefore the *Succession* to them cannot be justly dispos'd of without the Consent of *Him* and the *States of the Empire*; especially by *those Powers*, who were Parties to *that Treaty* (I was going to say the *Projectors* of it) and became *Guaranties of the Neutrality of Italy*.

Nor can it be agreeable to his *Imperial Majesty* to give his Consent to this *Succession*, if what is alledged, by the Writer before-mentioned, be true; *viz. that a Prince in Possession of Parma and Tuscany, assisted by the Treasures, the Fleets and Forces of Spain, might with the greatest Ease subdue the Austrian Territories, Sicily, Milan and Naples.*

It will be said, perhaps, that if We can accommodate Matters with *Spain*, in Concurrence with *France*, it will be of little Consequence whether the Terms are agreeable to the *Emperor* or not; since He hath no Fleet to annoy our Trade, or to make any successful Attempt upon *Great Britain*. We are indeed, as to *our selves*, happily situated out of his Reach and his Power; yet, in many other Respects, it may be our Interest (especially at *this Time*) to cultivate his Friendship, and include Him in the *Peace*; which cannot be *lasting*, unless it be *general*, and made with

the Consent of *all Parties*; for if the *Emperor* should think fit to oppose the Succession of *Don Carlos*, by the Introduction of *Spanish Troops* into *Italy*, (in Violation of the *Treaty of London*) We shall be obliged, by this suppos'd *Treaty*, to maintain it against Him; or if He should chuse to make any Attempt in *Germany* or *Flanders*, in Resentment for being thus left in the Lurch, We should find it very difficult to avoid being engaged in a War on that Account; and I leave it to be impartially consider'd whether the *French*, in such a Case, will not find ample Room to turn it to their Advantage; or whether *This* may not be one prevailing Motive with them to consent to the Succession of *Don Carlos*.

I have purposely avoided to say any Thing, concerning his Majesty's *German Dominions*, which ought not (according to the *Act of Settlement*) to involve *Great-Britain* in a War; and of every other State, except *France* and *Germany*, whose Interest it is to oppose *this Succession*. The only Point, which I have endeavour'd to prove, is, that these suppos'd Measures, in Favour of *Don Carlos*, without the Consent of the *Emperor*, may involve us in more Trouble and Expence, by supporting Him in his Pretensions, than We should be expos'd to by *vigorous Operations* against them.

But there is something still more extraordinary in this Account. During the *last Session*, it was confidently asserted, that We were in a fair Way of settling all Kinds of Differences with the *Emperor*. We have been since told, from Time to Time, how much He was dispos'd to *Peace*, and assur'd that *his Ministers* had Orders to act in Concert with *ours*, in order to bring the Court of *Spain* into the same Disposition; that all the *Difficulties* lay on *their Part*; whereas we are now told that They lay on the Part of the *Emperor*. I hope there is no collusive Understanding between *these two Courts*, or between *Them* and

and some of our *Allies*, in order to amuse us; to gain still more Time, and put us to farther Expence. But is it probable that the Court of *Vienna* would take any Pains to promote an Agreement between *Us* and *Spain*, so much to their *Dissatisfaction* and *Disadvantage*? Or that *We* should think it advisable to reconcile our selves to *one Enemy*, by widening the Breach with *another*, who hath it in his Power to frustrate all the Advantages, which we may hope to receive from a *separate Peace*?

I think This sufficient, at present, with Relation to the Succession of *Don Carlos*; which I shall consider more at large, if what I have already offer'd should be oppos'd by any Arguments, which deserve an Answer.

There are indeed some Particulars of this pretended Account, which we have all possible Reason to expect will be soon confirmed; as *first*, that his *catholick Majesty* will think fit to deliver out to the Proprietors, upon an *easy Indulto*, the Effects of the *Galleons* and *Azogues* Ships; in which the *French* are so considerably interested more than any other Nation, that We may be assured they will not be wanting in the strongest Applications and Remonstrances on that Head. *Secondly*, that *Spain* will be obliged to make us full and immediate Satisfaction for all their Depredations committed on our *Merchants*, as well as Restitution for all the Ships and Effects belonging to the *South-Sea Company*, which have been seized, during the Rupture. We have Reason, I say, to hope that this Part of the News is true; for our *Ministers* will certainly never consent to any *Treaty*, which does not secure this great Point to our *Merchants* and the *South-Sea Company*, in such strong and clear Terms as cannot be subject to any Disputes and Chicanes at a future Congress; and it is to be wish'd, in the mean Time, that every *Colony* and *Plantation* would prepare Themselves with a *Representative* in *Great Britain*,

in order to give an Account of their Losses, and to receive the Satisfaction, which is to be made them by *this Treaty*.

But what gives me the strongest Suspicion of the Falsity of this Account in general, is, that no mention hath been made, in these Papers, of any Article for ascertaining our undoubted Right to the Possession of *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar*; and yet This is an Article, which we have the utmost Reason to expect and insist on in a *Treaty*, agreeable to the Sense of the whole Nation, as well as of both Houses of Parliament. You have said enough, Mr. *D'Anvers*, in former Papers, to shew that This is the Point, in which *Great-Britain* hath been principally concern'd, and that, as it hath already involv'd us in almost infinite Damages and Expences, nothing will quiet the just Apprehensions of the People about it, but a *full, particular and explicit Renunciation*, on the Part of *Spain*. It hath been said, indeed, that leaving it upon the Foot of the *Treaty of Utrecht* and other subsequent Treaties, which declare our Right to the Possession of those Places, will be sufficient; and so indeed it would, if the Right which we obtained by *those Treaties*, had not been since brought into Dispute by a *LETTER* from his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1721; which, it hath been * acknowledged, contains a *Promise of its Restitution*. We are too well convinc'd, at least, that his *catbolick Majesty* hath insisted very strenuously on *this Promise*; that He laid a vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*, upon the Non-Execution of it; and that, to all outward Appearance, He seems still to insist on his Pretension, founded on *that Letter*. A *formal and specifick Renunciation* therefore, in this Case, seems to be absolutely necessary, and what the *British Nation* hath Reason to expect; especially if the Negotiations on Foot do not tend, as it is said, to

* *Vide The British Journal, Saturday January 18th.*

a *full and final Peace*, but only a *Truce*, or *Cessation of Hostilities for a certain Term of Years*.

But whatever current Fame may say, and however difficult it may be, at present, to form any Judgment of *these Negotiations*; we cannot but hope, (considering our own *Strength* and *great Expences*, as well as the *Power* and *Sincerity* of our *Allies*) that we shall soon have not only a *temporary, precarious Truce*, but a *firm, lasting and advantageous Peace*, which will at once *finally* determine all Disputes and Differences, without leaving any Thing, except *Forms*, to be discussed in a *dilatory Congress*.

And we shall not want to be informed of This by common *News-Papers*, or *private Correspondences*; but it will appear visibly in its *Effects*; by laying up our *Squadrons*; by an immediate Reduction of our *Troops at home*, and discharging *Those*, which we have maintained for several Years *abroad*; by seeing our Trade freed from all the Interruptions and Vexations, with which we find, by daily Accounts, the *Spaniards* still continue to molest it; and particularly by a speedy Diminution of our *Expences*, and consequently of our *Taxes*, which have been so long and so sensibly felt throughout the whole Kingdom.

I concluded my last Letter with a Quotation from the *Enquiry*; and I design to conclude This with a Quotation of much higher Authority; I mean, an Extract from his *late Majesty's MEMORIAL*, presented by his Minister *Baron Bothmar* to *Queen Anne*, upon the *Negotiations of Peace* in the Year 1711.

“ The Sentiments of his Electoral Highness on the
 “ *Peace* and its Negotiation are; that the *Allies* have
 “ Need not only of *positive Declarations*, but likewise
 “ of *real Securities*; especially having to do with an
 “ *Enemy*, whose Methods of acting are well known.
 “ This the former Preliminaries provided for, by ob-
 “ liging *France* to give up previously some Places of
 “ Security.

“ Security. In *These* there is neither any *real Security*, nor any *clear and distinct Declaration*. All is couch'd in *indefinite, general Terms*, which in Reality *express nothing*, and upon which Years might be spent in *negotiating*. It is left to be consider'd which is the surest Way to put a speedy End to the War; whether by previously insisting on such Conditions from *France*, that nothing may remain to be done in a *general Assembly*, but to give them the *Form of a Treaty*; or opening that Assembly upon *Articles*, that are *captious and obscure*, which leave an open Field for *France* to put in Practice her usual *Intrigues and Chicanes*.

I am, S I R, &c.

A.

W. RALEIGH.

N^o 164. SATURDAY, *August 23, 1729.**To* CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



Otwithstanding the just Contempt, that you have shewn for the Writings of your Adversaries, (which are confessedly the most wretched, that ever appeared against any publick Writer;) I beg of you for once to indulge me in some Remarks on the *British Journal of Saturday* last; which contains such extraordinary and very singular Observations on the present *Prospect of Peace*, and the *Conduct of our Treaties abroad*, as ought to be much better

ter known, and communicated, farther than *this Paper* will be able to convey them.

I was apprehensive that the Arguments, which I quoted, in a former Letter, from the *British Journal* of the 4th of *January* last, against the *Succession* of Don Carlos to the Italian Dominions, would put the Author to the Trouble of a little Prevarication; and alas! my Apprehensions have proved too well grounded! He hath done more than I could expect. He hath made as full and formal a *Recantation* of what he advanced, on this Subject, seven Months ago; as He did, about that Time, of what He had asserted just before, concerning the famous PROMISE to restore *Gibraltar*, and the Destruction of the *Spanish Fleet* in the *Mediterranean*; which He attempted unjustly to fix on the late Earls of *Sunderland* and *Stanhope*. In this Case, indeed, He hath acted somewhat more politickly; and endeavoured as much as possible to soften the Pangs, which commonly attend the ungrateful Office of *Recantation*, by employing another, who signs Himself *Thomas Potts*, to recant for Him. Who this *Tom. Potts* is, I know not; but He seems to be a Writer of the same unhappy Turn of Head with Mr. *Manley* Himself, and hath dropt several Things, with the same Inadvertency, in the Execution of his Trust, which I am afraid will require another *Recantation*.

He begins (in my Opinion, a little too soon) with Exultation, and sings *Te Deum* on the Assurances of a *Peace*. He tells us that the Briton and the Spaniard have again embraced in Leagues of useful Friendship; that all unaccountable Alliances and every unnatural Combination have found their Period; that the Ocean smiles with Safety; that now the Merchant finds a sure Return of Treasure; that Peace is purchas'd without the Expence of Blood; (I wish he could say without any other Expence;) that the Gates of Janus soon will shut, and the Ports of Commerce open.

I heartily wish that all This may prove as *true*, as it is *florid* and *pathetick*; for I should be very sorry that so desirable a Prospect (*the like of which*, says Mr. Potts, *we have not had for many Tears*) should prove either a *past*, or a *distant Prospect*; and it is my particular Desire that *all unaccountable Alliances and every unnatural Combination may find their Period*.

Nay, He goes farther; and tells us, that he hath *Authority for his Voucher*. What Authority? Why, the *London Gazette*, it seems, informs us that Mr. Keene, our Minister at the Court of Spain, *hath return'd the DRAUGHT of a Treaty, settled by the Concurrence of their catholick Majesties and the Ministers of the Hanover Allies*. This Treaty, says He, *must surely have been warranted by previous Instructions from the Principals of those Ministers*. Very likely; and being now sent to the *several Powers for their formal Approbation, can meet with no Difficulties, Objections, or Delays*. Why so, Mr. Potts? Was not the *preliminary Treaty*, for opening the Congress of *Soissons, settled by the Concurrence of their catholick Majesties with the Ministers of the Hanover Allies*? Is it not equally *sure* that that Treaty *must have been warranted by the Principals of those Ministers*? And yet did it not meet with very great *Difficulties, Objections and Delays*? What Reason therefore can we have to promise our selves so very confidently that the Treaty, now supposed to be in Agitation, will have better Luck?

But We will grant Mr. Potts this *Postulatum*, and allow that, *in all Probability, Orders will immediately be sent to carry it into Execution*. Yet I hope we may be permitted to defer our *Rejoycings and Congratulations*, till We know what this *Draught of a Treaty* contains; for though it must be confessed that We stand in very great Need of a *Peace*, and are very desirous of one, it is a *good Peace* that We stand in Need of and desire. No Body, I believe, imagines that even their *Catholick and Imperial Majesties* are so very obstinate

obstinate and inveterate against us, as to refuse us a Peace on their *own Terms*. We are well assured, that We might have had *such a Peace* long ago; and, no doubt of it, We may still. But what We expect and have been often promis'd, is a *honourable and advantageous Peace*; which We have more Reason to expect at present, because We have been at a vast Expence of *Treasure* and *Patience*, though not of *Blood*, to procure it. The great Point therefore to be consider'd, is, not whether any *Treaty* is in Agitation, or even agreed upon; but what the *Terms* of that *Treaty* are; and yet This is a Point, about which We have been hitherto kept intirely in the Dark.

It hath indeed been generally reported, and seems to be owned by Mr. *Potts*, (who hath, perhaps, some *Authority*, or *Instructions*, to own it) that the Introduction of a large Body of *Spanish Troops* into *Italy*, to secure the Succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia* for the Infant *Don Carlos*, is actually one Article of it. I gave you my Reasons, Mr. *D'Anvers*, why I could not at first believe this Account to be true; particularly because it was asserted, by the Authors of the *Enquiry* and the *British Journal*, that *Don Carlos* was a very formidable, young Prince, and threaten'd *Europe* with universal Monarchy; that all the Powers of *Europe* (and especially *Great Britain*) were engaged in Interest to oppose *this Succession*, and would never be brought to consent to it; but now, it seems, Things are altered, and We are blessed with a *great Revolution in Politicks*. For my Part, I think We have had nothing else, for several Years past, but *Revolutions in Politicks*; that is, a great Variety of *different Counsels*, *Alliances* and *Expedients*; but whether This is owing to *political Wisdom*, or to a certain *Revolution of Brains* in some Men, which is apt to make them grow giddy and fantastick, I must leave the World to determine.

It is upon this Account that Mr. Potts, the great Writer now before me, undertakes to *apologize* for the Author of the *Enquiry*, and to *recant* for the Author of the *British Journal*.

He acquaints us that *the Author of the Enquiry, when He writ that Dissertation on our publick Affairs, was greatly apprehensive of the Spanish Ambition.* For what Reason?—You shall hear. *He saw the Emperor and most Christian King without Male Issue.—Are they not still in the same Case?—He knew the present Prince of Asturias was a Youth of a sickly Constitution.—Hath Mr. Potts any authentic Account that his Constitution is alter'd?—And though He knew not how far the Queen of Spain might carry her Views, yet He fear'd, and He thinks with much Reason, she would not fail to make all possible Advantages of the fortunate Contingencies He mention'd.—Is it not probable that she hath still the same Views; that she will still endeavour to make the same Advantages; and are not all these fortunate Contingencies still equally in the Power of Fate?*

However (says Mr. Potts) it hath happen'd very fortunately for Europe, that the Marriage of Don Carlos with the eldest, Imperial Arch-Dutchess hath never been effected.—Have we any solid Reason to believe that such a Thing was ever in Agitation?—The Prince of Asturias is still like to live; which implies that He was like to live before; at least, there is still but one Life (as the Enquiry asserted) between Don Carlos and the Crown of Spain, after the Death of the present King.—And the French King may soon have a Dauphin; so He might, when the Enquiry was written, for aught that Writer knew. No, says He, she is advanced to the ninth Month of her Pregnancy; but is He sure that she will be delivered of a Dauphin? Or, if she should, that He will live to succeed his Father?—So that the Power of Don Carlos (as Mr. Potts observes) hath daily decreased, and at present is much less alarming;

alarming; but for what Reasons, I cannot possibly apprehend.

Thus much for the Author of the *Enquiry*. I now come to his Fellow-Labourer, the Author of the *British Journal*; for whom Mr. Potts does not pretend to *apologize*, but *recant*. He does it indeed with an Air of Triumph, in Imitation of his *Masters*, at the same Time that he is *doing Penance and taking Shame* to his Party.

He hath the Assurance to tell us that a *certain, despairing Faction* (who, by the way, have no Manner of Reason to *despair*, in this Writer's Sense) endeavour to throw Obstacles in the Way, and insinuate that the Infant Don Carlos is a Prince we must never support in the Tuscan Succession, nor establish in Italy.—— In the Name of common Modesty, who insinuated and maintained this Doctrine first? Did not the Author of the *Enquiry* insinuate it almost three Years ago, by representing Don Carlos in so formidable a Light? Did not Mr. Manley assert it in plain Terms, no longer ago than *January* last? And did not another profound Gentleman maintain it, about the same Time, in a publick Assembly? I wonder Mr. Potts would not be so kind as to *apologize*, or *recant*, for this Gentleman, as well as for his two Friends and Coadjutors.

But the Treaty of London, that most solemn Compact, hath expressly tyed us down to this Article. How then came we to oppose it at the Congresses of *Cambray* and *Soissons*? Mr. Potts hath helped out his Friend at a dead Lift, and tells Him that He may readily answer the Craftsman upon this Head. Tell Him (says He) what was strenuously opposed at the Congress of *Cambray* and in the last Assembly at *Soissons*, for very bad Reasons, is now agreed to, for good ones, by the same Parties in the present Assembly—— Very laconick and conclusive!—— But who were those Persons, who retarded the Peace, and consequently plunged us into farther Expence, by opposing this Succession for

very bad Reasons; and what were these *very bad Reasons*? I hope They were no *British Ministers*, who acted in this Manner; because the Nation might expect, in such a Case, that They should be called to Account and brought to Justice. I should likewise be glad to know what those *good Reasons* are, which have induced us to give up this *strenuous Opposition*; because our *Miscontents* may conclude one of the chief Reasons to be, that *some Persons* find They cannot procure a *Peace*, (which is absolutely necessary to their Affairs upon *any Terms*) without consenting to this Condition of establishing *Don Carlos* in *Italy*; and that their *Advocates* are obliged to follow them through all their *Inconsistencies* and *Contradictions*.— I am afraid therefore that Mr. *Potts* hath exceeded his Commission, by asserting that this *Opposition* was influenced by *very bad Reasons*.

But farther; did the Treaty of *London* tie us down to execute this Article by the Introduction of 12,000 *Spanish Troops*? On the contrary, did it not stipulate that no *Spanish Troops*, nor any Troops in *Spanish Pay* should be sent into *Italy* for this End, but all *neutral Troops*, and Those not to exceed the Number of 6 000 Men? Besides, these Dominions being *Fiefs of the Empire*, his Imperial Majesty cannot give them up, without the Consent of the *Germanick Body*, which must create farther Delays and Procrastinations.

The Recanter, Mr. *Potts*, tells his Friend, Mr. *Manley*, it must certainly be owned, even by his best Friends (in whose Number He is one) that He made England an Enemy to the Succession of *Don Carlos*; and did not give us Reasons, whose Weight could determine indifferent Men to the same Opinion.—Truly, Mr. *Manley* is apt to deal very much in Reasons and Arguments, which have no Weight with indifferent Men. However, since this great Revolution in Politics hath obliged him to retract his former Reasons, and turn quite about to the other Side, as his Patrons seem to have done,

done, it would be inhuman to press Him any farther on this Point; tho' I must put him in Mind that I am afraid he has no Right to the common Apology of ecclesiastick Writers; *erravi cum PATRIBUS*; unless it be with the FATHER of all political Lyes.

I shall not, at present, examine the Reasons, which Mr. Potts hath brought to shew that his Friend, Mr. Manley, was egregiously mistaken; and that the Succession of Don Carlos is so far from being *near the same* as giving up Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, *that, in Truth, Britain hath no Interest against it*; I say, I shall not examine This now; because taking it for granted that We have no Interest to oppose *this Succession*, if all the Powers of Europe, who joined with us in the Opposition at Cambray and Soissons, for *very bad Reasons*, would now consent to it for these *good ones*; yet I must take the Liberty to be of Opinion that it cannot be adviseable for us to undertake this Affair, without the Consent of Germany, or France, or any other Power, which is able to disturb it; and yet This seems to be the Scheme, as represented by Mr. Potts; who tells us *that the Spaniards have Reason to suspect the Sincerity of the Imperialists and the French, as Guaranties, because Both are interested against the Affair*, (though He told us just before, that Spain had purchased Tuscany of the Emperor at a *very great Expence*) and *that the British Fleet must effect these great Ends*. Now, if the Emperor and the French are interested against this Project, is it not probable that They may think fit to oppose it? And if They should, the Execution of it (which is to be our Part) may involve us in a *bloody and consuming War*, instead of procuring us a *firm and advantageous Peace*.

But, says Mr. Potts, *the Spaniards would never have given us a Peace, without an Equivalent*. An Equivalent for what? For a Peace? Will not a Peace be of mutual Advantage; and have not We more Reason to expect an Equivalent from Them for all the Ex-

pences we have been already at, and the *infinite Damages* we have sustain'd? What have we done to deserve to be used in this Manner, for so many Years together, and at last not to have a *Peace* given us without an *Equivalent*?

Mr. *Potts* advances in his *Politicks*; and undertakes to shew *that Europe cannot be endangered by the Project of this Succession*. Pray observe Him.

The Emperor, France and Spain (says He) *are the three great Powers, whom we must ballance and keep in a State of Equality*. I am really quite sick of that Word *Ballance*; but let Him go on.

Spain is undoubtedly the weakest of the Three; hath less Force, by Sea, or by Land; and this Addition in her Favour is still too small to turn the Scale; nay, it rather gives Her a proper Weight. Undoubtedly, Mr. *Potts*, you are quite in the Wrong in this Position. *Spain is not the weakest of the Three; not weaker than the Emperor, by Sea at least; and whether the vast Riches of the Indies do not put Her upon a Par at Land, I leave to be consider'd*. But supposing This likewise to be true, the *Succession of Don Carlos* will not be any *Addition in her Favour; will give her no Weight*; at least, it ought not, according to the *Treaty of London*, that most solemn *Compact*, which provides that none of the *Dutchies*, in Dispute, shall be ever possessed by any Prince, who is at the same Time King of Spain; and that no King of Spain shall take upon Him the Guardianship of such a Prince.

But there is still something more extraordinary in this Project; for if (says our Author) *she should presume to break the Bounds of Power in Italy, there are formidable Princes will rise in Opposition; perhaps our SELVES*. So that, according to Him, We ought to be always *doing and undoing*, and be content with subsisting upon *Patch-work, Expedients and Revolutions in Politicks*.

Mr.

Mr. Potts tells Mr. Manley, by way of Comfort, that such Arguments as his might induce us to delay this Affair (of the Succession) in the Congress of Cambray, as we did between two and three Years; but what was the Consequence? As the British Nation demurred to its own Treaties, so we flung Spain altogether on the Emperor. Hence ensued all our Difficulties; and This was so fatal to our Interests, it might well teach us BETTER POLITICKS.

This Paragraph contains either an *Absurdity*, an *Inconsistency*, or an *unlucky, blundering Concession* in every Line; for,

1. If the Affair of the Tuscan Succession was in no wise contrary to the Interest of Great Britain, why should such Arguments as Mr. Manley's induce us, for a Moment, to demur to our own Treaties at the Congress of Cambray?

2. Here is an exprefs Charge against Those in Power, that it was their *Non-observance* (I will not say *Violation*) of Treaties, which threw Spain into the Arms of the Emperor; that all our Difficulties have ensued from hence; and that We have been, for several Years past, engaged in a Course of *bad Politicks*; for otherwise what Occasion have We to learn better? And if it be true, that we have pursued *bad Politicks*, are not some Persons answerable for them? Or can we be secure that they are now pursuing better? This is one of the *Concessions*, which I am afraid will require a *Recantation*; and I hope Mr. Manley will in Gratitude undertake this Office for Mr. Potts, as Mr. Potts did for Him.

He continues his *Exultations*, very unhappily, in the following Manner. I look on this happy Turn of Affairs, as one of the best good Fortunes, which could befall this Nation.

In this Manner is the British Glory once more recovered, and our native Independency restor'd. Here was the Master-string, and This We have touch'd with Success.

Is not This a plain Confession that the *British Glory* and our *native Independency* have been *lost* for some Time, as some ill-disposed Malecontents have insinuated? I hope, however, that they are now fully *recover'd* and *restor'd*, as Mr. Potts assures us; and that this Paragraph may not furnish Him with more Matter for *Recantation*.

The *Tuscan Succession*, it seems, is the Master-string, and This We have touch'd with Success; but is it not somewhat strange, that such *able, experienc'd Artists*, as We are bless'd with, should not find out *this String* before, and touch it with the same Success; which would have saved us several Millions of Expence? It is well known that the Queen of *Spain* hath pointed out *this String* to us, and harp'd upon it for several Years. What therefore can Mr. Potts mean by triumphing in this Manner? Surely, it does not require any great Reach in Politicks to hit upon an *Expedient*, which hath been propos'd, discuss'd and insisted upon for so many Years together!

I ask Pardon, Mr. D'Anvers, for giving you so much Trouble about a *Letter*, which sufficiently exposes itself wherever it is read; but my Design is, as I told you before, to make the World more generally acquainted with the monstrous *Inconsistencies, Contradictions* and *Tergiversations* of a certain, *despairing Faction*, who subsist only from Day to Day, upon little *Shifts, Subterfuges* and *Expedients*. I would not therefore have you think that my Time hath been intirely thrown away in this Examination; for ridiculous as their Arguments may seem, and generally are, They often give us an Opportunity of explaining *Points*, which it might not be proper for Us to open ourselves. I am sure, it would not have been altogether safe for You, or Me, to bring such heavy Accusations against *some Men in Power*, as this Writer hath done, under Pretence of justifying them; that They have been pursuing *bad Politicks*; that They *demean'd* *themselves*

their own Treaties; that They have retarded the Peace for *very bad Reasons*, and been the Authors of all our *Difficulties*; that They suffer'd the *British Glory* and our *native Independency* to be lost; with several other grievous Charges of the like Nature; I say, such Assertions would prove very dangerous from *you*; though it seems somewhat extraordinary, in a *free Country*, that the very same Things should intitle *some Men* not only to *Impunity*, but *Encouragement* and *Protection*, which would draw upon *others* the Inconveniencies of *Warrants*, *Informations* and *expensive Prosecutions*.

However, Mr. *D'Anvers*, let them *argue, recant, insult* and *blunder* on, as long and as often as They please. You have certainly a Right, as long as the *Liberty of the Press* continues, to *answer* and *expose* them; which is the most considerable Advantage that accrues from *their Writings*.

I am, S I R, &c.

A.

W. RALEIGH.



N^o 165. SATURDAY, *August 30*, 1729.

A DIALOGUE between Sir GEORGE FREEMAN a Country Gentleman, and TIMOTHY SHALLOW Esq; a modern Town Whig, on the present State of Affairs

Mr. Shallow.



IR George, your humble Servant. You are welcome to Town.

Sir George. Your humble Servant, Mr. *Shallow*. I am glad to see you.

Mr. S. Why, you are grown a meer country Gentleman, *Sir George*. I don't remember that

that I have seen you in Town before these three Years.

Sir G. No, Sir; and I should not have been here now, if some Business of Consequence had not brought me up.

Mr. S. Why, you always used, Sir George, to spend three or four Months here in the Winter.

Sir G. Yes, Sir, when I was in *Parliament*, I always attended the *Session*; for I looked upon it as a Breach of Trust to leave the County, which did me the Honour to chuse me, *unrepresented*.

Mr. S. I have been told, Sir, that you might have been in *Parliament* still, if you had thought fit. What made you decline it?

Sir G. I had some particular Reasons, Sir, which I desire to keep to myself. I can only tell you, that if I could have been of any Service to my Country, I should not have declined it.

Mr. S. Nay, Sir George, I know you to be a Man of strict Honour, and every Body is convinced of it; but you was out of Humour with some Gentlemen in Power, and did not approve of their Measures.

Sir G. Sir, I had no personal Disgust to any of them; but I hope, every *Englishman* hath a Right to judge of *publick Affairs*.

Mr. S. No doubt on't, Sir George; but I believe you will allow that the best Men may be sometimes mistaken in their Judgment.

Sir G. I do, Sir; and should be glad to be convinced that I was so myself.

Mr. S. I remember, Sir, when we were last together, you expressed some Dislike of our Alliance with *France*.

Sir G. It is in the Power of our *Superiors* to make what Alliances They please; and we are obliged to submit to them; but for my own Part, I confess, I was in some Pain about the *Sincerity* of that Nation, after the Experience, which we have had of their
Faith

Faith, and the *natural Hatred*, which They are known to bear to us.

Mr. S. Well, Sir, but I hope you are now convinc'd that your Apprehensions were groundless.

Sir G. Really, Sir, I should be very glad to be convinced of it; but as yet I can see no Reason to alter my Opinion.

Mr. S. Lord! Sir, han't you heard the *good News* then?

Sir G. What *good News*, Mr. *Shallow*?

Mr. S. Why, that all Matters are made up, and that a *Peace* is as good as concluded.

Sir G. We have read a great Deal, in the News Papers, of Mr. *Banquier's* Journeys, and of *another Gentleman's* Negotiations with *Cardinal Fleury*; but I don't find that *all Matters are yet made up*, or that a *Peace is as good as concluded*.

Mr. S. No, Sir? Pray, did not you read the *Gazette* of *Saturday* the 9th Instant, which tells us, that a Messenger was arrived from *Spain* with the *Draught of a Treaty*?

Sir G. Yes, Sir, and what then?

Mr. S. What then, Sir? Why is it not plain from hence, that Matters are brought to a great *Forwardness*?

Sir G. I hope they are; for I am sure it is high Time that they should; but I think no great Consequences can be drawn from the *Draught of a Treaty*, before it is sign'd, and we know what it contains. You cannot be ignorant, Sir, that We have had several *Draughts of Treaties* within these four or five Years past, which have come to little or nothing.

Mr. S. Ay, Sir, but I can assure you the People *above* are very sanguine of *this Treaty*, and look exceedingly brisk upon it.

Sir G. Nay, Sir, if That be the Case, there must, no Doubt, be something in it more than ordinary—I suppose then the Fleet at *Spithhead* is now laid up.

Mr.

Mr. S. O, no Sir, That might spoil all.

Sir G. How so, pray?

Mr. S. Why you know, Sir, that the present Queen of Spain is a very turbulent, ambitious Woman, and hath set her Heart, for many Years past, upon fixing her Son *Don Carlos* in Italy. Now I don't know what the Devil possess'd us, but We have all along oppos'd this Succession very strenuously, in Conjunction with *all the chief Powers of Europe*, out of a false Notion that it would intirely destroy our *Mediterranean Trade*, and render *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar* of little, or no Service. Nay, Sir, We went farther, and dreamt terrible Dreams that *Don Carlos* might, one Time or other, become *universal Monarch*, and bring all Europe, *Protestants* as well as *Papists*, under his Yoke. But at last We have learn'd *better Politicks*. We have found that *this Succession* will have quite *contrary Effects* from what We idly imagined; and therefore we shall oppose it no longer for *very bad Reasons*. *This was the Master-string, and This we have touch'd with Success.*—

Sir G. Well, Sir, but you was going to tell me why the Fleet at *Spithead* was not laid up.

Mr. S. Why, Sir, that Fleet is to have the Honour of putting this great Project in Execution; by which Means we shall again become the *Disposer of Kingdoms* and the *Arbiter of Europe*.

Sir G. So that instead of opposing *this Succession*, as we have done for several Years together, we are to do all in our Power to establish it?

Mr. S. Yes, Sir; and to maintain it, when it is established.

Sir G. And pray, Sir, are we to do all This at our own Expence?

Mr. S. Nay, as to That, I can say nothing yet; but we may be sure that our *Ministers* have made the *best Terms* they could for us.

Sir

Sir G. No Doubt of it, Sir; but how is this Project relished by *all the chief Powers of Europe*, who joined with us in opposing it?

Mr. S. What signifies how they relish it, since we can do it without them? There may be Reasons, perhaps, to make us suspect that the *French* are not sincere in it, because they are *interested* against it; but They are our *Friends*, and will do any Thing to serve us. As for the *Emperor*, He will be bloodily provoked, no doubt, to see such a formidable Neighbour settled in *Italy*, without his Consent; but He can't help Himself, and nobody will assist Him in opposing it.

Sir G. I am afraid We are not absolutely sure of That. However, we had Hopes given us, last Winter, and in the Spring, that his *Imperial Majesty* was inclinable to an Accommodation, and our Language towards *that Court* visibly alter'd; but now I perceive it is become the Fashion again to call him Names, and exasperate the Nation against Him.

Mr. S. Sir, it is no more than what He deserves; for He hath been a very ungrateful Prince to Us, considering what We have done for Him; but We shall be even with Him now by this Accommodation with *Spain*. The *Succession* of *Don Carlos* will clip his Wings, and make even *Naples* and *Sicily* shake.

Sir G. Nay, Sir, We have been told in some of the publick Papers, that the Queen of *Spain* begins already to grow upon us in her Demands, and, not content with *Tuscany* and *Parma* for her Son, insists that either the Kingdom of *Naples*, or *Sicily*, should be added to them.

Mr. S. Egad! with all my Heart. The *Emperor* can't be too much humbled. 'Twill teach Him better Politicks another Time.

Sir G. Sir, I am no Advocate for the *Emperor*; but I hope we shall not do Things for *Spain* now, out of Revenge to the *Emperor*, which a Regard for ourselves

selves will oblige us to undo, if we can, in a Year or two.

Mr. S. We must run the Risque of That. *Power is always fluctuating*; and therefore it is our Duty to vary our Apprehensions and Counsels, according to the Appearances of Things.

Sir G. In my Opinion, Sir, These are strange Politicks; which only patch up Matters for a while, and keep us in a State of constant Dependency and Expence. I was in Hopes that the general Tranquillity of Europe was to be re-established by these Negotiations; but I find, by your Discourse, that We are to expect at best only a *Piece of a Peace*.

Mr. S. *Half a Loaf*, you know, *is better than no Bread*. A Peace with Spain is what we stand most in Need of; and I doubt not that the other Powers will come in by Degrees; but We must have Patience. *Rome was not built in a Day*.

Sir G. No, Sir; nor destroyed in a Day; though *pulling down* is much easier Business than *building up*.—But I hope, at least, that *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* are to be secured to us, by *this Treaty*, beyond all Dispute, as an *Equivalent* for all these very liberal Concessions to Spain.

Mr. S. Secur'd to us, Sir? Why han't we Possession of them, and can't We maintain them as We have done already?

Sir G. Yes, Sir; but you know that We have been at a great Expence in maintaining and defending them. I mean that the King of Spain will be obliged, by *this Treaty*, to make a *formal Renunciation* of all Right, or Pretensions whatsoever to those Places; so that we may enjoy them quietly for the future, without any Molestation, or Interruption of Commerce.

Mr. S. Lord! Sir, I wonder that a Man of your good Sense should talk in such a Manner! This is exactly the common Cant of our *Malecontents* in Town.

Sir

Sir G. I can't help That, Sir. But, pray, what Reasons may you complaisant Gentlemen, on the *other Side*, have against such a *Renunciation*?

Mr. S. Why, Sir, it is ridiculous. As long as *Don Carlos* is in Possession of *Tuscany*, *Spain* will consent to our Possession of those Places, because it is her *Interest*. When *That* ceases, the *longest Sword* must decide it; and what Good will a *Form of Words* do us in such a Case?

Sir G. This Argument, if I mistake not, will hold equally strong against all *Treaties* and *Conventions* in general. It is too true, indeed, that Princes are apt to make *Treaties*, and observe them no longer than it is for their *Interest*; but if This was always the Case, it would be ridiculous to make any *Treaties* at all, which consist only of a certain *Form of Words*. For Example, what is the *Treaty*, which is now said to be agreed on, but a *Form of Words*; and is it not as ridiculous to insist upon *one Form of Words* as upon *another*? For my Part, therefore, I think We may as justly insist, and as safely depend on a *formal Concession* of *Gibraltar*, as upon any other *formal Stipulation* whatsoever.

Mr. S. I have not said that the *present Treaty* does not contain any such Article; but only that it does not seem necessary.

Sir G. Nay, Sir, you said it was *ridiculous* to expect it.

Mr. S. Well, Sir, perhaps our *Ministers* may descend so far *ad Captum Populi*, as to obtain an Article to this Purpose.

Sir G. I hope They will be so good; for let me tell you, Sir, that as little as *some Persons* seem to regard the Generality of the People, *wise Ministers* have always found it worth their while to consult their *Interests* and *Inclinations*. I doubt not therefore that the *Gentlemen* now at the Helm will insist upon a *full, formal and specifick Renunciation* of *Gibraltar* and

Port-Mahon; which is so much the Interest of the People, and so justly expected by them.

Mr. S. We shall see That, Sir, when the *Articles* of the Treaty are published by *Authority*.

Sir G. In the mean Time, I have but one Thing more to observe upon this Head. At the beginning of our Conversation, you was pleased to insinuate that my Apprehensions of the Sincerity of *France* were groundless; and I thought that you were going to prove it; but I can't remember that you have said any thing, through the whole Course of the Argument, which so much as tends towards clearing up this Point.

Mr. S. Why, Sir, have the *French* deserted us, or receded from any of their Engagements?

Sir G. I don't say that They have *deserted* us; but what have they done for us? Did They give us any Assistance (as we were promised They would) during the Siege of *Gibraltar*? Have They borne any Part of the vast Expence, which we have been at, in sending out *Fleets*? Did They help us to this Expedient of the *Tuscan Succession*; or will They assist us in the Execution of it? No; you said that it was a *Child of our own*, and that we are to bring it to Maturity. Perhaps, you will say that They will sit still and suffer us to do it without Opposition, for the Sake of *Peace*; but are you sure that there is not a *Snake in the Grass*, and that They may not at last turn it to their Advantage?

Mr. S. These are all *Suppositions* only. I am sensible, indeed, that the *French Alliance* is a very tender Point; and that it is unpopular to argue in its Defence; but what could we do, at the Time of the *Hanover Treaty*, without them?

Sir G. If *Treaties* are only *Forms of Words*, and not to be depended on, I think We had much better have had *no Alliance at all*.

Mr.

N^o 166. *The CRAFTSMAN.* III

Mr. S. Nay now, Sir George, you harp too much upon *that Expression*. I meant it only with Regard to *Renunciations*.

Enter a Servant.

Ser. Sir, Dinner waits upon Table.

Mr. S. Sir George, pray walk in. We'll talk more of This after Dinner.

N.



N^o 166. SATURDAY, September 6, 1729.

The DIALOGUE between Sir GEORGE FREEMAN
and TIMOTHY SHALLOW Esq; continued.

Mr. Shallow.



ELL, Sir George, though we are of different Opinions, concerning the Manner of our late Negotiations, I hope you will agree with me, in general, that *Peace* is preferable to *War*.

Sir G. O, yes, infinitely, Sir; provided we can obtain it upon honourable Terms and a lasting Foundation. Such a *Peace* is always desireable, and especially at this Time, when the long Interruption of our foreign Commerce, and the Stagnation of domestick Trade, the grievous Losses of our Merchants, the daily Declension of our Manufactures, and the heavy Taxes, which We already labour under, have almost incapacitated us to support any farther Expences.

Mr. S. And yet there is a *Faction* amongst us, who do all in their Power to obstruct the Negotiations of

K 2

Peace

Peace, and endeavour to precipitate the Ministry into a War.

Sir G. If there are any *such Persons*, they deserve universal Abhorrence; but I hope you don't mean *Those*, who prefer a *just War* to a *precarious* and *disadvantageous Peace*; though I find it is grown the Fashion to brand such Principles with the Name of *Faction*.

Mr. S. But you say We are not able to go to War. If That be the Case, we must e'en take up with such a Peace as we can get.

Sir G. I said, Sir, that our *Misfortunes* and *Losses*, our *Expences*, *Taxes*, and *Anticipations* had almost incapacitated us to support a War; I mean with any Degree of Ease to the Generality of the People. But when the Contention is *pro Aris & Focis*, we must submit to any Hardships, rather than suffer our Country to be intirely ruin'd; and let me tell you, Sir, that as bad as our Condition is at present, it will grow worse every Day, whilst Affairs continue in the *same Suspence*; for as we were much better able to enter into a War *three* or *four* Years ago, than we are now, so we shall find our selves less able the longer we defer it.

Mr. S. What therefore would you have done? You tell us that a War would be a grievous and almost insupportable Evil; and yet seem dissatisfied with all our *pacifick Measures*.

Sir G. I am heartily sorry, that we are brought under such a *Dilemma*; but we must work our selves out of it as well as we can. I hope the *Treaty* in Agitation contains all the necessary Terms of a *good Peace*; and that it will preserve us from the great Distresses of a War, by taking Effect; but if the Powers concerned should endeavour to trifle with us any longer, by starting new Difficulties, or creating farther Delays, I think it absolutely expedient for the Safety and Honour of a brave Nation, to make one hearty Effort for themselves,

selves, whilst their Strength and Vigour are not yet intirely exhausted.

Mr. S. I make no Question, Sir, that a *Peace* will be speedily concluded to the general Satisfaction; or, if it should be obstructed by any new and unforeseen Accidents, I am assured that We shall endeavour to do our selves Justice in good Earnest; and, I doubt not, with Success; for I do not think our Condition near so deplorable as our *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries* have represented it.

Sir G. Sir, I take no Pleasure in such melancholy Reflections; nor do I borrow them from *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*, but from my own Experience and Observation. I wish They were as groundless, as you seem to imagine.

Mr. S. Our *Trade*, it is true, hath suffered very much for several Years past, in some of its most considerable and beneficial Branches; but I believe you will confess, Sir George, that the Nation was never *richer* than it is at present.

Sir G. Upon my word, Mr. *Shallow*, I am fully convinced that it never was *poorer*.

M. S. I protest, Sir, I am surprized to hear you say so; for it is demonstrable that we never had so much *Specie*, *Jewels* and *Plate* in the Kingdom, as we have at present.

Sir G. I grant you That, Sir; but it is equally demonstrable that Money is grown much *cheaper* than it was formerly; that other Nations have increased in these Particulars, as well as We; and that no Nation can be said to be *rich*, but in Proportion to the Riches of its *Neighbours*. We are indeed grown, of late Years, prodigiously rich in a kind of *false Wealth*, called *Paper Credit*, which serves very well to hide our *Poverty*, and is really the *Effect* of it.

Mr. S. But pray, Sir, what Marks of *Wealth* could our Ancestors boast, which we want? Was there ever

a greater Appearance of *magnificent Buildings, costly Equipages, or splendid Entertainments?*

Sir G. No, Sir; but you will find yourself very much mistaken if you calculate the Riches of the Kingdom from the Luxury, Extravagance and Profusion, which are to be seen in this Town. It is well known that *some Persons* have amassed immense Fortunes by *Rapine, Oppression* and the *Calamities* of their Fellow-Subjects, which enable them to maintain the State of Princes; and others, from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, run into the fashionable Vice of imitating their Superiors, and spending the *Fee Simple* of a large Patrimony in two or three Years time. This is commonly done in Town; where there are so many Temptations and Encouragements to such a way of Living. *London* therefore will be the last Place, that feels the Effects of a *general Poverty*; though, if our Information is true, you are not without Complaints of this Kind already. But I wish you would make a Progress into the Country, and see what a terrible Scene of Misery and Distress is opened there. You will find the *landed Gentlemen* almost generally incumber'd; their *Tenants* scarce able, with all their Industry, to maintain their Families and pay their Rent; the *Manufacturers* quite unemploy'd; and the *labouring Poor* reduced to such Necessity, by want of Work, and the great Dearth of all kind of Provisions, as to throw Themselves upon their Parishes, or live on the Contributions of their charitable Neighbours. You must have heard of the *Tumults* and *Disorders*, which these Calamities have already occasioned in several Parts of the Kingdom; and if Providence had not bless'd us, this Year, with a plentiful Harvest, I dread to think of the Consequences, which they might have produced.

Mr. S. I hope, Sir, you don't justify such *riotous Proceedings*.

Sir

Sir G. Far from it, Sir; but *Necessity hath no Law*, and *Hunger* will rebel against the *best Principles*. I know these *melancholy Accounts* are treated in Town as *meer Bugbears* and *Engines of Sedition*; but go into the Country, and you will soon be convinced of the Truth of them.

Mr. S. Sir, I don't deny it; but can any *Ministry* help This, or ought They to be blamed for it?

Sir G. I confess, Sir, the *Seasons* are out of their Power; but it is the Duty of *good Ministers* to relieve the Distresses of the People, as far as They are able, by giving Encouragement to *Trade* and *Manufactory*; reducing the *publick Expences*; and taking off *those Duties*, which are found to be most burthensome and oppressive to the *Poor*.

Mr. S. I suppose you mean the Duties on *Soap* and *Candles*, which some Gentlemen made such a Stir about last Session.

Sir G. I do, Sir; and pray what Reasons might be given against the *Motion for taking them off*?

Mr. S. Why, Sir, I have heard that They are *appropriated*; and that the Surplus belongs to the *sinking Fund*.

Sir G. As for the *Appropriation*, methinks it would be very easy for the Parliament to find out some other *Duty* in the Room of them, much less grievous to the People; as for Instance, a Duty upon *Luxury*; which I think should be always *tax'd*, by a wise State, preferably to the *common Necessaries of Life*.

Mr. S. But would you lessen the Income of the *sinking Fund*?

Sir G. If it is excusable to *lessen*, or *divert* it, upon any Account, it is certainly excusable upon This; for the only good Effect, which we hope for from the *sinking Fund*, is *paying off our Debts*, and abolishing *those Duties*, which are necessary to pay the Interest of them? Now, if any *Duties* are very burthensome to the

the People, why should They be continued, only to carry a little Surplus to the *sinking Fund*.

Mr. S. Our *Representatives* thought otherwise; and yet They did several Things last Session, which I believe you will own to be truly laudable and publick-spirited.

Sir G. Yes, Sir, their Resolutions, in Favour of our *much injured, suffering Merchants*, deserve the thankful Acknowledgment of every Man, who hath any Regard for the *British Commerce*. Their Enquiry into the *State of our Goals*, and the vigorous Proceedings of the *honourable Committee* upon it, are likewise a seasonable Instance that the antient Virtue of this Nation is not wholly extinguish'd. I hope, *this Enquiry* will not stop at *Huggins, Bambridge, and Aston*. But what hath, more than all, immortaliz'd this Session, is, the glorious Act for *suppressing Bribery and Corruption in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*. This was really *laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree*; for Corruption in the *Electors* is the most probable Means of introducing Corruption in the *Elected*, which can have no other Consequence in the End but absolute Destruction.

Mr. S. And do you really believe, Sir *George*, that *this Act* will have the Effect, which some Men flatter Themselves it will?

Sir G. God knows That, Sir. The Distemper is grown very inveterate. It hath infected the whole Mass of our Blood, and will require great Pains, and Skill, and Time, to eradicate it entirely; but it is the *clearest Bill* that I ever read; and I can't yet conceive how it will be possible to evade it.

Mr. S. Alas! Sir, it must be a very good Law, indeed, that hath no *Loophole*; and as sanguine as you, and many other Gentlemen seem to be, I can assure you *this Act* gives no Disturbance to those *great Men*, against whom it was levell'd. They make a meer Jest of it.

Sir

Sir G. Let them look as *merry* and *unconcerned* as They please ; the Opposition, which They made to the *passing* it, and the great Pains They have since taken to *ridicule* it, sufficiently discover their *inward Uneasiness*.

Mr. S. Ah ! Sir, depend upon it, They will find some Way to creep out of it.

Sir G. I make no Doubt that *bad Men*, who have no other *Security* than *Corruption*, will make Use of all their little Arts and Stratagems to evade it ; but let them look to Themselves. The Nation is against them ; and every Country Gentleman, who hath any Regard for Himself, or his Posterity, will keep a watchful Eye upon Them ; for can it be imagin'd that *We*, who have exerted our selves for the Preservation of the *Game*, which serves only for Amusement, will not shew the same Zeal against a Set of Wretches, who endeavour, by *unlawful Methods*, to *poach* us out of our Boroughs, and get an infamous Livelihood by engrossing the Disposal of our whole Estates. These are the *Castilines* of their Country ; and it behoves every honest Man to oppose their Designs.

Mr. S. You grow warm, Sir *George*.

Sir G. Sir, I ask Pardon ; but it really moves my Indignation to think of such *unnatural Prostitutes*, who make it their Business to undo the best Work of our Legislators ; and recommend Themselves to the Favour of *guilty Men*, by little *Subtleties* and *Distinctions* to explain away *Laws*, which disturb them in their evil Courses ; as if *Corruption* were grown so fundamental a Part of our Constitution, that the Government cannot subsist without it !

Mr. S. Truly, Sir *George*, I don't know whether it can or not. The People have been so long used to it, that an Attempt to reform it might prove a very dangerous Experiment.

Sir G. So, I know, some *modern Writers* would persuade us ; but They have met with the Contempt they deserve.

deserve. Men of Sense and Probity will never be convinc'd that *Corruption*, which hath destroy'd the best Governments in the World, is so far changed in its Nature, as to become the only Security of *ours*.

Mr. S. But you must confess, Sir, that *this Evil* is not of modern Growth. You know, it hath been practis'd among us Time out of Mind.

Sir G. I am very sensible, Sir, that it hath been growing upon us all the last Age; but it is become so universally prevalent within a few Years past, that the Legislature thought it necessary to interpose their Authority in the most effectual Manner They could contrive; and if their glorious Design should be defeated, by the infamous Endeavours of these *Law-Destroyers*, I can see nothing but Ruin before our Eyes.

Mr. S. I see very plainly, Sir George, against *whom* your Arguments are levell'd; but do you think that Things would be mended by *changing Hands*? For my Part, I am afraid that all the Opposition, and pretended Patriotism of *some Gentlemen*, are nothing but a Contention for *Places* and *Power*; and if one Set of *Ministers* was to be discarded, how could we be sure of having a *better* in their room?

Sir G. Sir, I have nothing to say against the *present Ministers*; nor will I promise for *Those*, who shall succeed them. *Power* is a dangerous Thing, and often corrupts the best Natures. But I think it ridiculous and absurd, at any Time, to argue that, allowing *Men in Power* to be *wicked*, or *ignorant*, or *both*, we ought not to oppose them, because we may happen to have *as bad* in their Room; and yet This is a Way of Reasoning, which hath been very much in Fashion of late. Let us put a Case in private Life, which will immediately discover the Fallacy and Folly of it. If you had a *Steward*, who combin'd with your *Tenants* to cheat you; or intangled your Estate by his *Ignorance* and *Incapacity* for that kind of Business; would you suffer him to continue in his Place, for fear of meeting

meeting with another, who might happen to prove as great a *Rogue*, or *Fool*, as Himself? You could not certainly be guilty of so much Weakness; for should your Fears prove true, you would only be just where you was before, and would have the same Power to turn Him away and take another. I am sure a wise Man would change his *Steward* every Week, and search all the Country round for a *good One*, rather than keep a *notorious Knave*, or *Blunderer*, in his Service.

Mr. S. Certainly, Sir George. I am far from being an Advocate for *such Men*; and as much a *Courtier* as you take me to be, I can assure you I never had a *Place*, or *Pension*, in my Life.

Sir G. I am fully convinc'd of it; and That makes me take the Liberty of speaking to you in this manner. I never wonder to hear Men, who are *known Creatures*, defend all their *Master's Measures*, good or bad; and it would be ridiculous to argue against them. But I am often equally surpris'd and concern'd to find Gentlemen, who are perfectly *Independent*, reason in the same Manner.

Mr. S. You know, Sir George, that I was always a *Whig*; and I am heartily sorry to see the Party in so divided and declining a Condition.

Sir G. So am I too, Sir; if you mean the *ancient Spirit* and *Principles* of that Party, which our Fore-Fathers exerted in the Defence of their Liberties against the Incroachments of *arbitrary Princes*, and the Depredations of *rapacious Ministers*. But the *Whiggism*, at present in Fashion, is a quite different Thing, and not worth preserving. Let the Party *divide and decline* as fast as it will; I wish it were utterly extinct; that Gentlemen might no longer be deluded with *Names*, and tempted to desert their *Principles*, rather than desert a *Set of Men*, who have betray'd and scandaliz'd those *Principles*—— But I have out-stay'd my Time. I was to meet some Gentlemen, at six a-Clock, about

about Business. Mr. *Shallow*, your humble Servant. I thank you for this Favour.

Mr. S. I thank you for your good Company, Sir *George*; and hope to see you again, before you go out of Town. N.

From my own Chambers.

THE Author of the *British Journal* being obliged, by frequent *Revolutions in Politicks*, to *contradict Himself*, and *recant* every Week, seems very desirous to keep Himself in Countenance by my Example; for which Purpose He hath quoted a Paragraph or two, in his last Paper, from mine of *May* the 4th, 1728. in which I gave up Doctor KING for an Impostor, and retracted my Recommendation of his famous *golden Specifick*. This was design'd, and understood by every Body, at that Time, as a Piece of *Drollery* only; but Mr. *Manley*, having *very* honestly *alter'd* and *curtail'd* this *ludicrous Recantation* to his own Purpose, prefix'd it to his last Paper, as a Justification of his own *serious Blunders, Inconsistencies, and Contradictions*. I desire my Readers to recur to my Paper upon this Subject for farther Satisfaction; and hope they will not expect, for the future, that I should take any Notice of a *Writer*, who is reduced to such *low Shifts*; unless He should blunder out something farther from *Authority*, which may deserve some Explanation, or Animadversion. D.





N^o 167. SATURDAY, *Sept. 13, 1729.*

THE present State of Affairs in *Europe* hath obliged me, to postpone several ingenious and useful Letters from my Correspondents, which deserve a Place in this Paper; but *these Affairs* being, I think, sufficiently explain'd and discuss'd for the present, I have Leisure to look over my *great Thesaurus of Intelligence*, which contains Variety of Matter upon all Subjects; and shall from Time to Time, as Opportunities offer, give those Pieces to the Publick, which will bear the Light. Amongst the rest, I find the following, which I have collected together for this Day's Entertainment, being all written on Subjects of much the same Nature; and as the Thoughts are generally *new*, I doubt not They will prove agreeable; especially to Those, who have any Compassion, or Regard for the inferior Part of their Fellow-Creatures.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

DEAR CALEB,

AS I am a constant Reader of your *Journal*, I find in one of them, lately publish'd, a Description of a Piece of *Dutch Drollery*, express'd by a *Picture*; in which is pourtray'd a generous *English Bull-Dog* thrown upon his Back; unfairly held down; depriv'd

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of

of all Self-Defence; and expos'd to the Insults and unmerciful Drubbings of a *sniveling Hero*, in a *short Cloak* and *sable Whiskers*. This did not a little raise my Indignation; for you must know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I am by Nature very compassionate to all the dumb Part of the Creation; but my Regard extends it self more particularly to *Dogs*; and I must tell you that my Respect for these *grateful, affectionate Creatures* is almost, if not altogether, as warm as That, which *Gulliver* expresses for his favourite *Houyhnhnms*. It is therefore with no small Pleasure that I read of the great Esteem and Veneration, which hath been express'd by the Antients for this *sociable, good-natur'd Animal*. The *Egyptian* Sages with Reverence adored their Deity *Anubis*, under this Shape; and I am inform'd that the *Mahometans*, to this Day, leave them considerable Legacies; frequently declaring it to be a principal Part of their Will, that so much Bread should be charitably do'd about to the *Dogs* of such a Street. Our Forefathers not only repos'd an entire Confidence in the Fidelity of these Creatures, as *domestick Guardians*, but took them likewise as a Sort of *Companions* abroad, to participate with them in their Sports and rural Diversions; and it is well known that a *late, noble Lord* put Himself to the Expence of erecting a *fine Monument* to the Memory of a faithful, favourite *Dog*, with an *Inscription*, which enumerated the several *Virtues* and *Accomplishments* of the Deceased.

I was very much pleas'd, the other Day, with an Account, in one of our News-papers, of the great Encouragement, which had been given to a *learned Dog* in *France*; who, it is said, can already distinguish all the *Letters in the Alphabet*, and begins to *put them together*; from whence They conceive Hopes that He will, in time, make great Improvements in *Literature*; and, perhaps, make a considerable Figure in their *Royal Academy of Sciences*.

Now,

Now, as it affords me the highest Satisfaction to see our *canine* Fellow-Creatures treated with Kindness and Humanity; so, on the contrary, how am I provoked at some *Barbarians*, (in reality much more *Brutes* than *They*) who use them with Contempt, and even with the most shocking Cruelties? I am often in Pain to hear a Couple of good-for-nothing Scoundrels, in a Passion, call one another *Dogs*, and *Sons of B—hes*, by Way of Reproach. But what hath given me the greatest Alarm, is, that an Attempt hath been lately made to reduce *these Animals* from their *glorious Immunity* into a State of the most *abject Slavery*. *Hunger and Ease* were always allowed them, as their undoubted Privileges; but *these Innovators* have discover'd an Intention of continuing to them the *former*, without the pleasing Alleviation of the *latter*. The vile Designs of these *Invasors of publick Liberty* are to make them labour like *Horses*, instead of accompanying us as *Companions*, or serving us in the Capacity of *Household Stewards*; for it is notorious that a Couple of sordid Tyrants have already made the Tour of this Kingdom, imperiously lashing a Sett of *free-born Dogs*, slavishly harness'd to their triumphal Car. It must be own'd, indeed, that as there are Degrees of Perfection in the human Kind, so doubtless there is likewise a Difference in this Species, and some of them merit only to be treated as the meanest Drudges; such are your *sad Dogs*, your *Dogs in Doublets*, and *Dogs* that, for Hire, jump over Canes, play Tricks for the K—g, and dancing Attendance upon a Rope, for a little *pensionary Bread*, are intirely subjected to the Will, and most obsequiously observant of the Nod, Call, or Whistle of an haughty, *two-legg'd Monster*, who derives his own Ease and Plenty from the vile Submissions of these *abject, degenerated Brutes*.

But far, very far different from *These* was that ancient, genuine Race of *true-bred English Bull-Dogs*, who were not only famous at home, but likewise ac-

quired a glorious Reputation abroad; excelling in Fight; victorious over their Enemies; undaunted in Death; and, in the Midst of crackling Blazes and artificial Thunders, resolutely continuing *tenacious* to the last.

But much I fear that few of *that Race* are now surviving; for the *Tyrants* before-mentioned could not have chained them tamely to their servile Vehicles. When their *Freedom* was invaded, They would doubtless have shewn a generous Resentment, by their angry Snarlings; and, if urged by Violence to receive the Yoke, would certainly have turned all their Rage and Strength upon those *arbitrary Men*, who endeavoured, with Bits, Reins and Whips, to lord it over them. It must therefore be a *mongrel Race of Dogs*, who submit to this vile Servitude. But let all such *Charioteers* beware how they attempt the Liberties, and endeavour to subjugate these *nobler Brutes*; for though fix'd in their Seats, and driving a full Career, they may meet with the Fate of that *antient Coachman*, the presumptuous *Phaeton*.

O.

I am, S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

PHILOCUNOS.

P. S. If This meets with a tolerable Reception, you may in a little Time expect a Dissertation on the several *foreign Species of these Animals*; such as your *French Harlequins*; *Italian Grey-hounds*; *Spanish Peinters*; *Dutch Mastiffs*; and *German Wolf-Dogs*.

To

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

Worthy S I R,

THE publick Good being the professed Design of your Paper, I desire you to acquaint the Curious, that I have been at a great Expence in procuring a choice Collection of *uncommon Animals*, both foreign and domestick, which I design shortly to exhibit to Sale, viz.

1. A large Parcel of the finest *Canary Birds*, that were ever seen in *England*. They sing all the modern, favourite *Court Tunes* to Perfection, and will afford the most agreeable Entertainment to the *Nobility*, *Gentry* and others, of this Kingdom, who are well affected to our *present, excellent Administration*.

2. *Baboons* and *Monkies*, of all Kinds and Sizes, very proper to be sent abroad, being naturally endowed with *grotesque Figures*, and having abundance of *comical Humours*, which cannot but be very entertaining at *foreign Courts*. N. B. The *Ladies* need not be afraid of them; for they play no Tricks, that are either *mischievous*, or *indecent*.

3. A curious Collection of *English Owls*, which look as wise and important as some *Ministers of State*; particularly a *large, black one*, (almost as big as That brought from *Norway*) which is esteemed a very great Curiosity.

4. Above two hundred fine talking *Parrots*, which I challenge the whole World to equal. They all say *Yes* or *No*, as their *Master* bids them, upon the least Nod or Wink of the Eye; and some of them will *harangue* for an Hour together, upon any Subject, without Hesitation. There is amongst them a very large *Mackay*, beautifully *Party-colour'd* with *Red* and *Blue*; who struts, plumes Himself and talks to Admiration, when the *Parrots* are with Him; but sinks his Crest and

looks very much dismay'd, when They desert Him ; for which Reason He is not to be sold *separate* ; but if any Gentleman hath a Mind for them *all together*, They will be sold a Pennyworth.

All these *Creatures* are to be seen at my House in *Channel-Row, Westminster* ; where I have long dealt in such Curiosities. If you please, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to publish this Advertisement and come to see me, you shall be welcome to any *Bird or Beast*, that you shall chuse, except my *large black Owl*, and my *Party-colour'd Mackay*.

N.

I am, S I R,

Your constant Reader,

TOM. VIRTUOSO.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

I Am a great Admirer of *History*, especially the History of my own Country, which I take to be the most useful of all Kinds of Writing, there being some Things even in the worst Historians, which afford Instruction, Entertainment, or Illustration.

As I was dipping, the other Night, into our old Countryman, Sir *Richard Baker's Chronicle*, I took Notice of the following Passage, which had before escap'd my Observation. He tells us that *Levis*, the *eleventh* of *France*, being desirous to divert our King *Edward the fourth* from a War, which He was just entering upon against Him, made Him a Present of an Ass ; a Creature which, the Historian says, was very rare amongst us at that Time ; though the Breed hath been so much encouraged since, by some great Men, that we have been able to send them to all

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all the Courts of *Europe*, and particularly to *France*, (in Return for their former Compliment to us) where the Species of this Animal seems at present to be almost extinct.

I wish, Mr. D'*Anvers*, that you would, at your Leisure, give us a Dissertation upon these useful *Beasts of Burthen*; and particularly on our *Milch-Asses*, which are allowed to be of the utmost Service to Men in a *consumptive* and *declining* Condition.

A.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant, and constant Reader.



N^o 168. SATURDAY, *Sept. 20, 1729.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR,



URING the Minority of *LOUIS* the XIV. when *Mazarine* had the Administration of the Government, that Party, which declared against him, were called SLINGERS, or SLING-BOYS. They were so stiled, says the *Historian*, from their throwing *daily*, or *weekly Papers* at his Head; exposing the evil Management of his Trust; the bad Use which he made of the royal Favour; his imbezling the publick Revenues; and every other Crime, of which this great Man was guilty; and whose Guilt was continually felt by the People.

I cannot help thinking from this Passage, Mr. D'*Anvers*, that you are originally of *French* Extraction, (though you say that you are a *German*) and are
linally

linically descended from the Family of the SLINGERS. At least, from the Pleasure, which you certainly take in throwing Stones of this Sort at the Heads of *great Offenders*, we may be assured you have a good deal of this Blood in you; nor need you blush to have sprung from a Race, who were always conspicuous and celebrated for heroick Actions. The first, as well as the most illustrious SLINGER in all Antiquity, was the Royal *David*; who with five, smooth, well-chosen Stones from the Brook, overthrew that *gigantick evil Minister GOLIATH*; for such he surely must be, from his Vaunting, his Size, and his Challenge, his want of all Modesty, and his Assurance in his own Strength. Some are of Opinion that This was a rash Action in the *Stripling*, as he is called; an Undertaking, that might rather prove him the Son of *Jesse*, the BETHLEMITES, than the Father of *Solomon* the *wife*. But This may be urged against the immortal Achievements of every Hero, who has appeared in the World; for we know the Ascent to Virtue is steep and difficult, and not gained without arduous Toil and Hazard. Nor yet do I insist, as some do, that this *Sling* of *David* was only a Sheet of Paper, like a *modern Journal*, setting forth the bad Administration of that *great Man Goliath*; because I am not much in Love with that loose way of Paraphrasing, which some Men affect.

But now, let us take the Liberty to go on and consider, what other Persons and Nations in the World have been famed for good *Slingers*.

We must not, in the first Place, omit the *Balearick Islands*; where all the People are bred to handle this Weapon only in the literal Sense, and not a Youth above sixteen is suffered to eat any Thing but what he earns by his *Sling*. In this Country, every Man is distinguished in private Life, as he is known to have fetched down a *Hawk*, a *Cormorant*, a *Vultur*, or some other *ministerial Bird of Prey*; and in the civil Govern-

Government all Malefactors are put to Death by the *Sling*.

Many of the Heroes, the Patriots and *Demi-Gods* of Antiquity have been famous in the Art of *metaphorical Slinging*; and, indeed, most of the heroick Exploits of the Antients are not to be understood by us, as they are related by their Poets and Historians, in the *literal*, but in the *metaphorical* Sense. *Hercules* therefore, when he slew the *Hydra*, wrote him down only. This *many-headed Serpent* was a *bad Minister* and his *Faction*, to whom he gave Battle from Time to Time, and as often defeated and destroy'd. Thus when new Schemes were invented, injurious to the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, the *valiant Writer* drew his Pen and overthrew and destroyed them; that is, he exposed and confuted them. When he cleansed the *Augean Stable*, did he not encounter *Immorality* and *Corruption*? And may not This, in a very plain and easy Manner, be said to be *throwing Stones* at the Head of a *corrupt Minister*, who could bring none of his wicked Schemes to bear, unless the Generality of the People were *corrupt*, and had *unclean Hands*? When he conquer'd the *Nemæan Lyon*, and the rest of the Savages, that disturbed the Peace of Society, did he not destroy *rapacious* and *devouring Robbers*; weakening their Gang, and endeavouring to deliver his Fellow-Creatures from *Oppression* and *Tyranny*?

Diomed was literally famous for throwing *great Stones*; and, no doubt of it, could make Use of the *Sling*. *Timoleon* and our King *William the third* were glorious *Slingers* in the *Herculean* Way. *Demoisthenes* and *Cicero*, among the Antients, and many illustrious Moderns have gained Immortality by *Slinging*; that is, by defending the Rights of Mankind by Arms, or Eloquence. *Algernoon Sidney* would probably have made a good *Slinger*; but his Enemies broke open his Armory, and put him to Death, before his Instrument was finished. He died for attempting only to
sling

slung well. Indeed, these Sort of Battles generally end, as most civil Engagements do, in Death or Victory; though it does sometimes happen that when a young and unexperienced *Slinger* of the lower Class has misfired his Aim, he has been exposed, by raising him on a little SCAFFOLD, and obliging him to put his Head thro' a Hole in a Piece of Wood; but this Punishment has been observed sometimes to have had little Effect; because the common People, who are constant *Slingers* themselves, on other Occasions, at *little evil Ministers*, in the same Place, have attended the supposed Offender as his Guard, and triumph'd with him in his Cause and his Punishment.

Of *Slingers* there are many Kinds; but I think they may be collected and divided into the several Classes following, *viz.* the *simple*, *allegorical*, *metaphorical*, *paraphrastical*, *polemical*, and *humourous*.

The *simple Slingers* are generally Warriors with warm Hearts; who confiding too rashly in the Virtue of the Cause, in which they are engaged, expose themselves quite unarmed in the Front of the Battle, and enter into open Hostilities, without any Regard to Consequences; so that we often see the very *Stones* they throw returned upon them. They are frequently wounded, and sometimes destroy'd by their Rashness. These are a Sort of *political Martyrs*, who glory in being sacrificed for a Cause, which they believe to be the Cause of Truth. We often hear the *Courage* of these bold Fellows commended; but it is very seldom that any Thing is said of their *Prudence*.

The *allegorical Slingers* are brave; but they are cunning. They always fight in Armour, and with their Bevers down; and thus equipped, like Knights in Romances, are very seldom overcome. They cloath themselves in *Fable* and *Similitude*; and tho' they are never what they appear to be upon a superficial Sight; yet every one, upon a Review, discovers their real Shape; their Armour being composed of a Sort

Sort of malleable Crystal, transparent and impenetrable. These People, tho' they never aim directly at the Mark, *sling* with great Success, and are extremely dreaded by the Enemy.

The *metaphorical Soldier* of this Kind is known by the beautiful Shine of his Arms, which are compos'd of temper'd and polish'd Steel, and are often too bright for the Eyes of his Adversary. He *slings* with Force and Penetration. Whatever comes from his Hand is almost sure to take Place. He is the Support and Guard of the Side he defends; and, as the *Wise-man* says, *the Words of his Mouth are as deep Waters, and the Well-spring of Wisdom as a flowing Brook.*

The *paraphrastical Slingers* generally make a flying Squadron; whose Business is to regard the Marches and Countermarches of the Foe; to observe fully and with Care all his Motions; to sap Mines and discover Ambuscades; to report the Numbers and Strength of the Enemy; and to point out the weak and unguarded Parts of any Fortrefs designed to be attacked. These Soldiers are of great Use in preventing the Success of false Alarms; in detecting and animadverting upon political Falshoods, and laying open the Frauds of feigned Friends and real Enemies.

The *polemical Class* consists of a sort of Knights, who are chosen out of the Army for single Combat, when the Enemy challenges Hand to Hand. They are always taken out of the Flower of the Chivalry, not only for their Valour and the Strength of their Sinews, but their Adroitness and great Address in the Use of their Arms. I have seen one of these Champions enter the Lists against an Adversary seemingly twice as strong, and lay him upon his Back in an Instant with one single Stroke of a *Goosequill*. I have seen another of these Knights called into the Field by solemn Sound of Trumpet, as if to engage an equal Adversary, when a Dwarf has appeared in Arms against him as in Contempt of his Prowess; but the
Knight

Knight has immediately taken him upon the Point of his Pen, and exposed him between both Armies to common Raillery and Contempt. Nor are these *Chevaliers* only useful in single Combat; in debating Hand to Hand only. They are likewise greatly skilled in unravelling knotty and intricate Accounts; in detecting false Musters, and fraudulent Conveyances of the publick Money; in keeping a regular and a laudable Oeconomy; and standing up in the Defence of all the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow Soldiers; and accordingly they always have their Affections.

The sixth and last *Clas* is the *humourous*; a Race of merry Mortals, who always go to Battle in a kind of *Mail*, paned with Glasses of several Kinds, that multiply, magnify and diminish; from which all Objects are reflected in odd-sorted, whimsical and ridiculous Colours. Their Faces are hid under the *Larva* of the Antients; and the *Pantomimes* of Antiquity are said to be only a younger Branch of this House. The *humourous* were never known to be attacked successfully, but by Troops of their own Kind; for it has been observed, when they have been very gravely and formally assaulted by serious Warriors, regularly arm'd, and bold Strokes have been aim'd at them, they have always been made without any Effect; which is supposed to be owing to the lubricous Superficies of these glassy Coats, from which every Blow slides off, and leaves the Opponent to the Laughter of the Company; for they have this Advantage likewise, that even in the Time of Action, by artfully opposing their little Mirrors to the wisest and most prudent Muscles imaginable, they turn them immediately into the laughable and ridiculous. They have also, as I have been told, another Method of attacking; and That is, when they do not make Use of their little Glasses, they apply the Feather-End of a Quill to the most sensible Parts of the Adversary; which, by gently irritating the Muscles, causes a violent

lent Titillation, and turns every Thing into Burlesque from immoderate Laughter. When they engage Troops of their own Kind, as sometimes they do, it generally proves a very agreeable Entertainment to the Spectators. A thousand odd and fantastick Images are joined. A thousand Flashes, imitating Lightning, glare from the Reflection of their opposed Coats of Mail; but This generally proves a drawn Battle; neither does it last long, because it would grow tiresome and insipid both to the Spectators and the Warriors themselves; and would sink into a common *grinning Match*.

As I observed to you, in the Beginning of this Paper, that these *Slingers* were dangerous Enemies to *Mazarine*, I will conclude with telling you that they were very beneficial to the Publick, and stemm'd the Male-Administration of that *corrupt Minister* by their Opposition. He governed and pillaged *France* for many Years; I think from 1644 to 1662, the Year of his Death; and yet this Man, when he came to die, gave this Advice to his Successor, (I think I may call him so) *LOUIS* the XIVth—*Sire*, said He, *I would have you always take Care to hold the Reins of Government in your own Hands, and never trust entirely to any ONE FAVOURITE.*

R.

I am, &c.

N^o 169. SATURDAY, *September 27,* 1729.

T hath been often objected against the *Clergy*, that the ill Lives of many of their Body are one of the chief Sources of *Infidelity in the Church*; and I think it may be asserted, that nothing hath ever contributed so much to the Growth of *Infidelity in the State*, as the bad Conduct of *political Ministers*. For though our Constitution is really, in itself, neither the better nor the worse for the Conduct of Those in the *Administration*; yet when the People are deprived of the good Effects of it by Corruption and Mismanagement, which they find Themselves unable to stem, they are apt to fall into a State of Indolence and Indifference as to the *Constitution* it self; at least, into *Infidelity* and *Distrust* of Those, who sit at the Helm; which is occasion'd, as I have said, by *Mis-administration* in general. But I design to trace the Causes of it more particularly in this Paper.

All People have a natural Affection for the Constitution and Frame of Government, under which they are born, however defective, injurious, or oppressive to them; and I think it reasonable to suppose that this natural Affection is much stronger in those Countries, where the *Liberty of the People* is a fundamental Part of the Constitution. As long therefore as They find themselves easy and happy in the Enjoyment of their Rights, they will be so far from throwing off all Faith in their Governors, who continue these Blessings

sings to them, that they will look upon them as their Benefactors. They will concur heartily with them in all their Measures, and put an intire Confidence in all their Promises and Assurances. But if they feel themselves ill-governed for several Years together, without any Hopes of Remedy or Redress, they will begin to look on their Superiors as a Set of Cheats and Impostors, whose only Design is to pillage and oppress them, under the Pretence of protecting them in their Privileges, and defending them against their Enemies; and when once a People have conceived such an Opinion of their Governors, it is almost impossible to remove it. They will think that *such Ministers* have only Themselves in view; and if they should do *Right*, that it is only because doing *Right* happen'd, at that Time, to be more for their Interest than doing *Wrong*.

Now amongst other Causes of this *political Infidelity*, I look on the following as the principal.

1. When Men are seen to thrust themselves into Power by *ill Means*; such as Treachery, Corruption, or screening wicked Men from Punishment; for can it be supposed that any Person would so far prostitute his Character, and do Violence to his own Inclinations, as to betray his *best Friends*, or indemnify his *worst Enemies*, with no other Intention than That of serving his Country? No; Politicians seldom *do Evil that Good may come of it*; unless it be *Good to Themselves*; and therefore We have just Reason to be jealous and diffident of a Man, who sticks at no Methods to get into Power, because it is very probable that He will stick at nothing, when he is in it.

2. *Ignorance and Incapacity in Ministers* are another Cause of *political Infidelity*. When the People are assured, or convinced of the Ability of their Governors, They will rest satisfied that every Thing will be done for their Service, which Prudence can direct. But when Weakness, Indiscretion and Folly break out in

all their Actions; when They manifestly discover their Inequality to publick Business by repeated, false Steps, and continual Endeavours to patch up one Blunder with another; when They are notoriously trick'd and outwitted by all the *foreign Powers*, with whom They are concerned; when every *petty State* makes an Advantage of their ignorant, bungling Measures, and squeezes something out of them for Assistance in their Distress; in short, when They have undeniably negotiated their Country into Poverty, Dependance and Contempt, from a rich, flourishing and formidable State; then, I say, all People, who can either see or feel, will cease to put any Trust in Those, who have managed Affairs at this Rate. They will justly conclude that *such Ministers* can never retrieve their own Miscarriages, nor do any Thing beneficial to their Country, unless it be by *Accident*, upon which no wise People will ever depend. A *civil Community* is just like an *Army of Soldiers*, who will undertake the most hazardous Enterprizes with Confidence and Assurance of Victory, under a *General* of experienced Conduct and Bravery; but lose a great deal of their Spirit and Vigour under the Command of *One*, who is known to be deficient in either.

3. This *political Want of Faith* is likewise often occasion'd by the selfish, rapacious, and insatiable Spirit of Those, who are intrusted with Power; I mean, when the whole Power of the State, with which They are intrusted, is visibly made Use of to aggrandize *Themselves* and *their Family*, to an immoderate Degree, preferably to all other Considerations of a *publick Nature*.

It is allowed, that Men in high Stations, which are attended with great Trouble, Difficulty and Hazard, ought to be rewarded, amply rewarded, for their Labour; but then They should remember honest *Horace's* Rule,

—*distas,*

———*disfat, sumasne pudenter,*
An rapias?———

There is a wide Difference between modest Gain and boundless Rapine. The greatest Minister is but a Subject and Servant of the King, and ought to be content with the Property, Retinue and Conveniences of that Condition, if He would be esteemed, or have any Confidence reposed in Him by his inferior Fellow-Subjects; for they will never be persuaded that He hath their Good at Heart; whilst They see him affecting Sovereignty, and indefatigably employed in extending his Power, amassing Wealth, building Palaces, and soliciting Titles, Grants and Reversions for Himself and his Relations; especially if He does This at a Time, when They are groaning under numberless, heavy Burthens and Calamities. Verres, the infamous Roman Governor of Sicily, was one of the most rapacious Plunderers, that ever abused Authority; and yet Cicero observes very justly, that his immense Riches, instead of screening Him from Punishment, confirmed the Suspicion of his Guilt; nocenti Reo Magnitudinem Pecunie plus habuisse momenti ad Suspicionem Criminis, quam ad Rationem Salutis.

4. The last Cause of State Infidelity, which I shall mention at present, is ministerial Tricking, Shuffling and Lying. Sir Henry Wootton hath observed, that it is the Business of an Ambassador, to lye for the Good of his Country; from whence some shallow Politicians have concluded, that This is the best Expedient for governing the People at home, as well as serving their Country abroad. When Things go badly, they will assert very positively that they go well, and promise very confidently that they will soon go better, without any Foundation or Design, besides That of stopping our Complaints, and maintaining themselves in Power. They will tell us, to-day, that such a Power, or Prince, is grown formidable to Europe, and ought to

be reduced. The next Day, they will maintain the direct contrary, with equal Assurance; and so go on contradicting Themselves and abusing the People from Year to Year, from Month to Month, and from Day to Day. Nay, They will advance the most notorious Falshoods; that *Trade* is in a flourishing Condition, when it is almost at the last Gasps; that *Taxes* are easy, when every Body feels them to be otherwise; and that the People were never so *happy*, as when all the rest of the World *despise* and *insult* them. This they may think *Policy*; but they will find Themselves mistaken. A *known Lyar*, in common Life, is seldom believed, even when He speaks the *Truth*; and *political Lyars* must expect the same Fate. When the People find themselves deceived, imposed upon, and trick'd for several Years together, They will give no farther Credit to the Promises, or Assertions of such a Man; but turn downright *Infidels* to every Thing He says or does, however plausible his Pretences may be.

I have thus laid before the Reader some of the chief Causes of *political Infidelity* in general, without making any Application, which I leave to the Discretion of every Reader. But lest some of my worthy, wire-drawing Commentators should, according to Custom, apply these Rules to *particular Ministers*, or perhaps even to *Majesty* itself; I will conclude with a Passage or two out of the late Sir Richard Steele's political Writings; which I chuse to do at this Time, because I find that *some Persons*, who not only neglected Him, but used Him infamously when living, are now endeavouring to do Themselves Honour, and have their former Treatment forgotten, by raising Monuments to his Memory.

*Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Eublatam ex oculis quarimus invidi.*

“ What

"What, *said He*, are *Majesty* and *Ministry* consolidated; and must the People of *Great Britain* make no Distinction between the *one* and the *other*? We very well know the Difference; and humbly conceive that if a *whole Ministry* were impeached and condemned by the People of *Great Britain* in Parliament, for any notorious Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust, the *Prince* could not suffer by it. But such is the Hardiness of these Sort of *Writers*, that the Honour, the Interest, nay the Person and Prerogative of the *Sovereign* is communicated to and confounded with the *Ministry*; and *Those*, who by Law are *accountable for all Wrongs* done to the Publick, must be screened and protected under the sacred and incommunicable Character and Attributes of *One*, who by Law *can do no Wrong*.

Again. "As for my self, what I have here suggested is from an honest Heart; and I have an Armour in my Integrity against all Gain-sayers. My Comfort is, that the *Laws of England* are still in Force; and though what I have said may be *unacceptable*, I am sure it is not *illegal*. Whilst the *Laws* are in Being, I am safe; and no Man can be safe, who out-lives them. May I, whenever They expire, die with them!"

Sir Richard Steele is now dead; and had the Happiness to expire *before the Laws of his Country*. D.



N^o 170. SATURDAY, *August* 30, 1729.

MR. ADDISON made himself very merry, in one of the *Spectators*, with a Design, which the late *French King* had at that Time of establishing an *Academy of Politicians*; and seemed to look upon a Seminary for breeding up *Statesmen* in a regular Way, by Precepts and Instructions, as a ridiculous Attempt. But I must beg Leave to dissent from that excellent Writer, and cannot help thinking that the Business of *Government* may be much more easily learn'd by Rules and Rudiments, than any other Art, or Science whatsoever. A man must have a natural Genius to arrive at any Perfection in *Poetry*, *Oratory*, *Painting*, or *Musick*; because there are Things required to excel in those Arts, which cannot be attained by all the Industry and Instruction in the World; such as a lively and fruitful Imagination; a graceful Elocution; a quick Eye; a masterly Hand; and a delicate Ear. But the *political Art*, which consists chiefly in *Forms*, *Precedents*, and *Knowledge of the World*, is subject to every Man's Understanding, and requires nothing more than Assiduity and Information. The Society of *Jesus* is known to be rather a *political* than a *religious* Institution, and hath furnished the catholick Courts of *Europe*, for an Age or two past, with their ablest Ministers and Statesmen. The Court of *France* hath been particularly obliged to this great Seminary of Politicians for the Figure, which she hath made in the World. She hath been long famous for her Skill and Management of Intrigues; and hath often retrieved by Negotiation in the *Cabines*, what she hath lost in the *Field*. On the other Hand, we *Britons*
(by

(by I know not what Fatality, or Negligence) have always been more remarkable for our *Courage* than our *Policy*; and from being the Terrour of all *Europe* in the Field, have often suffered ourselves to become the Dupes and Bubbles of all *Europe* in the Cabinet. Now, for my Part, I cannot impute This to any thing so much as the Want of a regular Institution in *State-Affairs*; for the Genius of our Countrymen, in general, seems to be so naturally inclined to *Politicks*, that it hath been observed from a *Nation of Saints*, as *England* was once called, we are become a *Nation of Statesmen*. Our *Coffee-houses* and *Taverns* are full of them. Nay, we often find them cramp'd up behind *Counters*; or immur'd in *Stalls*, *Garrets* and *Night-Cellars*. But our Misfortune is, that this national Genius, for want of due Cultivation and Improvement, is apt to grow wild, and shoot up into Schemes and Projects, which expose us to the Insults and Contempt of the World about us. I would therefore propose it to the Wisdom of my Superiors, whether it would not be highly for the Honour and Interest of the Nation to put ourselves upon an Equality with *Papish* Countries, by erecting a *Protestant Academy* for the Instruction of young Gentlemen in the Art and Mystery of *Government*. If this Proposal meets with any Approbation, or Encouragement, I doubt not that Variety of Plans will be laid before the Publick for that Purpose; but as it may be expected that I should offer something of this Nature, I would humbly propose the following Model, which occurred to me on my first Thoughts on this Subject; declaring that I shall chearfully yield to any thing better, which may be hereafter proposed.

I would have a large Edifice erected, at the Expence of the Publick, (unless any private Person hath a mind to immortalize Himself by so noble a Benefaction) consisting of several *Schools*, like Those in both our Universities; in which the several Branches of *political*
Know-

Knowledge, necessary to the Formation of a *Statesman*, shall be particularly explained to a certain Number of Students, by able Professors, who shall be appointed by the Government with handsome Salaries for that Purpose.

In the first, or lowest of these *Schools*, I would have the Students taught to *read and write*, and *cast Accounts*; for really a Man makes but a pitiful Figure in one of the *chief Posts of an Administration*, who is not Master of these ordinary Accomplishments.

The next should be the School of *modern Languages*, especially *French*, which is almost absolutely necessary for conversing with *foreign Ministers*, either at home or abroad; though it must be confess'd that there are Exceptions to this general Rule; and that We have had Instances of *some Men*, who have made a shining Figure even at the *French Court* itself, without the least Knowledge of their *Language*, or *Manners*.

The third should be a *Dancing-School*; which may seem, perhaps, to some Persons, a very unnecessary Apartment in a *political Academy*; but I must desire these Gentlemen to consider that *Address* and a *graceful Appearance* have some Influence in all Courts, and often contribute to the carrying of great Points. It is, at least, very improper that a Person invested with a *publick Character*, which represents his *Sovereign*, should be so far destitute of all Breeding, as not to know how to come into a Room with tolerable Grace, or to behave Himself when He is there. In this School might likewise be taught the *Ceremonies* and *Punctilios of Honour*, which ought to be observed in Conversation with *Ladies*; or other Persons of high Rank.

I would likewise have a *Geographical School*; in which our young Students in *Politics* should be instructed in the Knowledge of the *Globe* and *Maps*. They should especially be taught to distinguish between the four, great Quarters of the World; particularly
Ame-

America; which being the last discovered Part, some *Ministers* have fallen into great Mistakes, about it, and discovered to the whole World that they took *Portobello* and *La vera Cruz* to be the same Place, though they lie at several hundred Leagues Distance from each other. A *Geographical Professor* would therefore be very necessary in this Seminary, to prevent such egregious Blunders for the future. He might also be obliged to give his Assistance to our *adult Statesmen* in any of their Enterprizes, or Expeditions, whether at *home*, or *abroad*.

The *fifth* should be the *Ambassador's School*; where I would have Monsieur *Wiquefort's* Book upon the Functions of that high Office carefully explained to the Students; and no Person should be ever sent abroad with a publick Character, who is not a tolerable Proficient in the Interests, Manners and Characters of the chief Persons of that Court, at which He is to reside. The *Professor* of this School should take great Pains to instruct his Disciples not to be imposed upon and led by the Nose (as some *Ambassadors* have been) by the Tricks, Subtleties and Finesses of *artful Ministers*; especially by *Delays* and *Procrastinations*, which are always dangerous in political Negotiations, when the Party, upon whom they are practised, is kept at a continual, vast Expence, with his Hands bound down, and insulted by his Enemy, without any Power of defending Himself, or making Reprizals; and yet We have known *some Ambassadors*, whose whole Negotiations have consisted of nothing but *Delays*; which they seemed to look upon as deep Reaches in Politics, for no other Reason that I can guess, but because a *Roman Dictator* once carry'd his Point by them, in a particular Case of great Extremity.

Unus Homo nobis cunctando restituit Rem.

But I believe it will be found, upon Examination, that *Delays* have done more Mischief to *some Countries* than they ever did Good to *Rome*; and a certain *Gentleman*,

stleman, who affects to imitate *Fabius* in this Particular, must not expect to be honoured with the Title of *Maximus* upon that Account.

In another School I would have the whole, modern Art of *Treaty-making* explained by a Professor, well acquainted with this Part of *political Knowledge*.

He must be a Man of a subtle, prevaricating Genius; a perfect Master of *Ambiguities*, *double Meanings*, and *equivocal Expressions*; which are of great Use, when it is not proper to let the Sense of the *contracting Parties* appear in publick. He must likewise be well versed in *secret*, and *separate Articles*, *saving Clauses*, and *Counter-Stipulations*; which make the greatest Part of *modern Treaties*, and give either Party an Opportunity of breaking through them, when Occasion requires, without any apparent Violation of publick Faith, by distinguishing between the *Letter* and the *Spirit* of a Treaty. I would only recommend one Rule to the *Professor* and *Students* in this School; and That is, not to project any *Treaties*, *Conventions*, or *Alliances* between two Nations, who have no mutual Interest concerned; for it is ridiculous to suppose that any *Words*, however formal or solemn, will bind a Prince, or State against their real Interest. I hope, therefore, that this Rule will be of some Service to the World, in preventing *wild*, *blundering Treaties* and *unnatural Alliances*; which are the Source of so many national Misfortunes and Calamities.

In the highest School of all, should be taught the Business of the *Finances* and other Affairs, which relate to the Office of a *Prime Minister*; such as the Method of keeping *publick Accounts*, and making an Advantage of *national Debts*; the Mystery of *Stock-jobbing*, *Taxes*, *Ways and Means*, *Deficiencies* and *Arrears*; the Use of *Spies*, *Setters* and *Informers*; the Art of managing *publick Assemblies*, breaking *Promises* without *Falshood* and *bribing*, or being *bribed* without *Corruption*; as also the great Secret of deceiving
Princes,

Princes, and making them answerable for the Mismanagement, Blunders and Iniquities of their *Servants*.

I have the Vanity to believe that a *political Seminary*, formed upon this Plan, would prove of excellent Service to my Country; especially if it is established at this Time, when we have so many Gentlemen in Power, who have distinguished themselves, both at home and abroad, by their Capacities for publick Business; and as his late most christian Majesty propos'd to put his *Academy* under the Protection of the Marquis de Torcy, Minister and Secretary of State, I doubt not that one of our most eminent Statesmen would undertake the same Office, and initiate our *young Politicians* in those great Arts, by which they have so remarkably signalized *Themselves*.

I shall only add, that if it should be found difficult to raise Money for this Purpose, it might not be improper to confiscate the Estate of some *great Offender*; and thus turn the Treasure, which hath been plunder'd from the Publick, to the Service and Embellishment of the Publick.

D.



N^o 171. SATURDAY, *October* 11, 1729.

*O Navis, referent in Mare Te novi
Fluctus. O, quid agis? fortiter occupa
PORTUM.*

HOR.



THE Continuance of a large united Squadron for so many Months together, at *Spithead*, hath been the Subject of much Speculation both at home and abroad. It hath furnished our *Malecontents* with an Opportunity of throwing out several ill-natur'd Sneers and petulant Reflections upon *some Men in Power*; and even the most implicit Admirers of *Those* in the *Administration* seem to have been somewhat at a Loss to account for the Reasons of keeping so great an Armament upon our own Coasts, during the whole Summer. But I doubt not that some *Enquiry*, or *Observations* will be published in *due Time*, and justify *this Part* of our Conduct as fully to the World as all our former *pacifick Measures*.

We were favour'd, last Year, with the Draught of a *provisional Treaty* for the Re-establishment of the publick Tranquility; and had Hopes given us that the Allies of *Vienna* would accede to it; of which indeed we had little Reason to doubt; there being nothing contained in that *Treaty*, (in all outward Appearance) to which *They* could take any reasonable Exception. But the Equipment of a *large Fleet*, some Time after, banished all those Hopes, and gave us Reason to suspect that some farther *Difficulties* and *Obstacles* lay in
the

the Way. It was generally believed, by all Parties, that some great Enterprize was in Agitation; that We were at length resolv'd to strike a Blow, and endeavour to obtain those Terms by *Compulsion*, which We had in vain attempted to procure by *Persuasion* and *gentle Methods*; especially, when our Allies, the *States General*, sent a large Squadron of their Ships, under the Command of a brave, experienc'd Officer, to join us. This Opinion, of vigorous Counsels having been taken, continued to prevail for several Months; though People began to wonder that the Execution of them was delayed from Time to Time. At length, We were let into a great Secret by a *certain Court-Writer*; who told us that the Fleet at *Spishead* was so far from being designed to act against *Spain*, as it was generally apprehended, that it was fitted out to convoy a Body of Troops into *Italy*, to secure the eventual Succession of *Tuscany, Parma and Placentia* for the Infant *Don Carlos*; as the best and only Expedient for settling the Peace of *Europe*. This was somewhat surprizing at first; because this Succession was never mentioned in the *provisional Treaty*, publish'd last Winter; and especially from a Man, who had asserted and taken great Pains to prove, but a few Months before, that it was a Point, which threaten'd the Liberties of *Europe*, and therefore would never be comply'd with by any of the chief Powers; particularly by *Great Britain*. It is now above two Months ago that He recanted these Assertions; and maintained, on the contrary, that it is our Interest to establish *Don Carlos* in *Italy*; nay, that the Fleet was equip'd for this Purpose; though no such Enterprize hath been yet undertaken; and the Season of the Year is so far advanced, that I cannot think any such Design is now in Agitation.

But it may be asked, perhaps, with what Design therefore was *this Squadron* equip'd; of what Service hath it been to the Nation, or the general Cause of

Peace; and for what Reasons is it still continued at *Spithead*? To which I answer, that it is not proper for private Men to pry too closely into Secrets of State, before Those, who have the Management of Affairs, think fit to divulge them. We ought to rest satisfy'd and assured that these Measures, however unaccountable to us, were influenced by very good Motives; and that Those, who pursued them, are able to justify their Conduct in a *proper Place*, and when they are call'd upon by a *proper Authority*.

In the mean Time, though the chief End of this Equipment is not yet known, I think my self able to prove that it hath been incidentally serviceable to the Nation in several Respects of great Importance.

In the *first Place*, *this Squadron* hath undeniably secured us from any Invasions, or Attempts, which might otherwise have been made upon us this Summer, in Favour of the *Pretender*, pursuant to a *secret Article*, which was sign'd (as we were solemnly assur'd) by the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* for that Purpose; for notwithstanding the repeated Assurances of *some Writers*, I do not find that the formidable Conjunction of those *two Powers* is yet dissolv'd; and consequently we ought not to lay aside our Apprehension on that Account.

" I know very well (*to use the Words of the Enqui-*
 " ry) how easy and how common it is to laugh at
 " the Name of the *Pretender*, whenever it is men-
 " tion'd upon such Occasions, as a *political Bugbear*
 " or *Scarecrow*; a meer Word of *Alarm*; or a *Puppet*
 " to be play'd by Statesmen at their Pleasure, and
 " whenever their Designs require it. But it would be
 " very unfortunate for *Great Britain*, and end in the
 " total Ruin of us and our Posterity, if Those, who
 " are at the Helm, should suffer themselves, at the Plea-
 " sure of such as wish them no Good, to be laugh'd
 " out of that Care and Wakefulness, which their
 " King and their Country require of Them. There is
 " not

“not a *Day*, nor an *Hour*, in which the Necessity
 “of Attention to this great Point does not appear;
 “nor is there, I fear, any Crisis of Affairs in *Europe*;
 “possible, at this Time, without *This* bearing a great
 “Part in it.”

We see, from hence, that even the Being of the
Protestant Religion, and the *Succession of his Majesty's*
illustrious Family are deeply concerned, and ought al-
 ways to be concerned in these *military Preparations*
 and *Expences*? For though no such Attempt might
 probably have been made, if *this Fleet* had not been
 equipped; yet (as this *excellent Writer* observes) we
 ought to be *daily* and *hourly* upon our Guard, and
 remove all Possibility of Danger; since *Prevention*
 of *Evils* hath been ever acknowledged the *best Cure*.

But, *secondly*, we have not only prevented any *In-
 vasion*, which might have been projected against us,
 by keeping our *Fleet* station'd in this Manner, on our
own Coast; but have likewise avoided giving any pos-
 sible Umbrage either to our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*.
 They cannot now pretend that We have been guilty
 of any *Hostilities*, as they did in the Case of stopping
 the *Galleons*. Our Operations, this Summer, have
 been merely *defensive*, in Conformity to the *Treaty of*
Hanover; and therefore we have the utmost Reason
 to expect that the Negotiations of *Peace* will now
 proceed, without any farther Difficulties, or Objec-
 tions to our Conduct.

By this *domestick Armada* We have likewise pre-
 vented the *Destruction of our Sailors*, which was so
 much lamented during the Blockade of *Porto-bello*.
 Our *Malecontents* have no Opportunity to complain,
 in their usual, popular Manner, that our *British Navy*
 and *Seamen* (the great Bulwark of our Nation) have
 lain rotting at *Spithead*, as They did at the *Bastimentos*,
 by *Worms*, *Diseases*, and Want of *wholesome Provisions*;
 nor can They mourn over any *brave Admirals*, who
 have perished there in the Service of their Country.

Every Body knows that it hath been a Scene of general *Mirth, Festivity, and Entertainment*, instead of *Mortality and Distress*.

This *naval Encampment* hath also been of great Service to the Nation in exercising our *Sailors*, and keeping them in a Readiness for *Action*, whenever *defensive* and *pacifick Measures* only shall be found ineffectual.

I hope it will not be thought ridiculous to mention another Advantage, of less Consequence indeed than any of the former, which the Publick hath received from *this Fleet*; and That is, the great Stop, which it must necessarily have put to that detestable Practice of *smuggling*, or *running Goods*, (and thereby defrauding his Majesty's Revenue) which hath grown of late Years, to an enormous Height on those Coasts. I hope, I say, that it will not be thought ridiculous to mention This amongst other Advantages; for though it would, undoubtedly, be esteemed monstrous Politics to keep up so large an Armament for *no other Purpose*; yet it must be confess'd an adventitious Benefit accruing from it; since the most daring of these *Offenders* will hardly presume to carry on their *lawless Traffick* under the Nose of a powerful, united Fleet.

I shall mention but one more *national Advantage*, which may seem to some Persons a little *paradoxical*; but I am justified in it by the Author of the *Enquiry* before-mentioned. I mean the *EXPENCE*, in *building, rigging, victualling and equipping this Fleet*; which creates a great *Circulation of Money*; which is the Life of *Trade*; which is the Support of the *Nation*. This *Expence* indeed (as He observes) *must be a Burthen to Those, who pay towards it*; but it is certainly a *Benefit to Those, who receive it*. *The Body of Subjects, taken together, are not the poorer for it; though the Persons paying it to others are so; which I think*

think an unanswerable Argument and Apology for *all Expenses whatsoever of this Nature.*

But besides this *necessary Expence*, which the Nation hath been at in *Building, Rigging, Victualling, &c.* We may add the *voluntary Expenses* of the Curious, which the *Continuance of our Fleet at Spithead* hath occasioned, and which would have been prevented by its *going abroad*. It is true indeed, that *Those*, who put themselves to this *Expence*, are the poorer for it; but the *Money is still in the Nation. It is only removed out of one Pocket into another.* The good People of *Portsmouth*, in particular, are great *Gainers* by it; and I think I may affirm that *no Fleet ever promoted so great a Circulation of Money.*

I have thus endeavour'd to prove (and I think I have done it very amply) that the *Equipment and Continuance of the Fleet at Spithead*, hath been of great Advantage to the Nation, in many Particulars, supposing it should be laid up without doing any *further Service*; and as I am the *only Person*, who hath hitherto attempted to justify the Conduct of my *Superiors*, upon this Account, against the Cavils and Clamours of *Malecontents*, I hope I shall, for the future, escape the Obloquy of *other Writers*, nor suffer any longer under the Character of a Person disaffected to our *present most excellent Administration*. I defy the most fulsome and sordid of *those Writers* to say more, upon *this Head*, than I have said, without expecting any other Reward than the Satisfaction of having done my Duty, by speaking the Truth impartially upon all Occasions, and doing Justice indifferently to all Men.

D.



N^o 172. SATURDAY, October 18, 1729.

USBECK at — to RUSTAN at ISPAHAN.



THOU knowest, *Rustan*, that in our happy Regions, of the *East*, there is but one Form of Government, which is despotick and uncircumscrib'd by any Laws, except the Will of the Prince. Our mighty *Sophi's* are uncontroul'd and omnipotent like the great *Alba*, whose Vicegerents they are. But in these northern Parts of the World, where I reside, there is almost an infinite Variety of Governments. Some are called absolute *Monarchies*; but they bear no Proportion of Power to our great *oriental Empires*. They have likewise what they stile *mix'd*, or *limited Monarchies*, *Aristocracies*, *Oligarchies*, *Democracies*, and others compounded and decompounded out of two, or more of These. It would be endless, *Rustan*, to enumerate; much more to describe them all. They swarm one out of another, as different Humours, and Interests, and Factions prevail. But there is a particular odd kind of Government, lately hatch'd amongst them, which I will describe to Thee, as well as I am able, because I know Thee to be curious in such *political Novelties*. It is called *ROBINARCHY*, or *ROBINOCRACY*, from the Name of the *Man*, as I have been informed, who first founded it. This Form of Government seems to be compounded of a *Monarchy*, an *Aristocracy* and a *Democracy*; for it consists in keeping all *Three* in a State of Dependency upon itself. The *Robinarch*, or chief Ruler, is nominally a *Minister* only and Creature of the Prince; but

in reality He is a *Sovereign*; as despotick, arbitrary a Sovereign as this Part of the World affords. He does every Thing in his Prince's Name and by his Prince's Authority, except Good; which he always does in his *own Name* (whenever he happens to do any) and claims the sole Merit of it to *Himself*. His Government therefore may properly be called a *ministerial Government*, or *Imperium in Imperio*; which hath been always treated as a Solæcism in Politicks by the best Writers upon Government, even in these barbarous, *European Nations*.

These *Robinarchs, Rustan*, are commonly *new Men*, of plebeian Extraction and small Inheritance; and as their Power is a manifest Usurpation upon the Prince's Prerogative, and tends to the Oppression of the People; their Government seldom lasts long; for which Reason it is a constant Maxim amongst them, to fill their Coffers as fast as They can. Their Measures and Methods of doing This are very extraordinary; though well enough suited to the Nature of their Government. The *Robinarch* in Possession considers very rightly, that as He hath unjustly engros'd the whole Power of a Nation into his own Hands, with a View to exorbitant Gain, all the honest and sensible Part of the Nation must of Consequence be his Enemies. He therefore admits no Person to any considerable Post of Trust and Power under Him, who is not either a *Relation*, a *Creature*, or a *thorough-pac'd Tool*, whom he can lead at Pleasure into any dirty Work, without being able to discover his Designs, or the Consequences of them. He knows that *Ignorance* is often the *Mother of Obedience*, as well as *Devotion*. As for his inferior Agents and Instruments, He takes them out of the vilest of the People, whom he secures by *Corruption*. On the other Hand, He makes it his particular Business to discountenance Men of Probity, Learning and Understanding; whom He dares not trust, and therefore hates. He endeavours to make *Patriotism* and

and *publick Spirit* ridiculous, by representing them as the Effects of *Madness*, or *disappointed Ambition*. He maintains roundly that *Bribery*, when well apply'd, is an excellent, political Virtue, without which no Government can subsist; and to convince the World of his Sincerity, He makes it the sole Expedient of his own. He rules by *Money*, the Root of all Evils, and founds his iniquitous Dominion in the *Corruption* of the People.

The greatest Difficulty, which he hath to struggle with, is when He meets with a Prince of Virtue, Fortitude and Wisdom. Thou wilt wonder, *Russian*, how the *Robinarchal Government* can subsist under such a Prince; but alas! thou knowest that even the greatest and wisest of Princes (though descended from the *Sun*, like our oriental Monarchs) are but Men; subject to the same Frailties and Imbecilities with other Men. Nay, their high Station is, in many Respects, a Misfortune. It puts them out of the Road of common Intelligence and Information. It lays them under a Necessity of trusting to their Servants and Favourites. They cannot see with their own Eyes; nor hear with their own Ears. On This depends the *Robinarch's* Security. He closets up his Master. He sticks close to his Ear, and infuses into it whatever Notions and Prejudices He thinks fit, or finds serviceable to his Interest and Ambition. He leads Him into Measures, contrary to the Interest and Inclinations of his Subjects, in hopes of diverting the popular Odium from Himself. He represents his own personal Enemies (whom *Corruption* and *Male-Administration* have made such) as Enemies to their King and their Country. He forges sham Plots; suborns false Evidence; and tries every Art to make the People jealous of their Prince, and the Prince diffident of his People, in order to make Himself necessary to his Service.

This is not all. I told thee, *Russian*, that none of the northern Princes were properly *Monarchs*, or *absolute*

absolute Sovereigns; but in those *Gothick* Countries, where *Robinocracy* generally prevails, the Prince is limited and restrained by Laws, Oaths and Contracts between *Him* and his *Subjects*, who have a Share in the Legislature, and send their *Deputies* to act in Concert with Him. He can raise no Money, the great Sinew of Government, without their Approbation and Consent. They have likewise a Power to call his *Ministers* to Account for all their Actions, and have often obliged Him to give them up to Justice, against His own Inclinations. It is therefore necessary for a Man, who aspires to *Robinarchal* Power, to secure the *Deputies* of the People on his Side, as well as the Prince Himself. This, I am told, was no easy Matter in former Times; the *Deputies* being a numerous Body of Men, stubbornly tenacious of their Rights and Liberties; but *modern Robinarchs* have found out a Method of softening this old-fashioned, rigid Virtue to their Purposes. They do This chiefly by giving Encouragement to *Luxury* and *Extravagance*, the certain Forerunners of *Indigence*, *Dependence* and *Servility*. Some are ty'd down with *Honours*, *Titles* and *Preferments*; of which the *Robinarch* engrosses the Disposal to Himself; and others with *Bribes*, which are called *Pensions* in these Countries. Some are persuaded to prostitute Themselves for the lean Reward of *Hopes* and *Promises*; and others, more senseless than all of them, have sacrificed their Principles and Consciences to a Set of *Party-Names*, without any Meaning, or the Vanity of appearing in Favour at Court.

The *Robinarch*, having thus establish'd Himself in Power, begins to discover and exert his Capacities for Government. He corrupts the People with their own Money, to part with their own Money; and by throwing a Bucket or two of Water, at convenient Times, into the Well, pumps out again what Quantities He pleases. He loads them with *Taxes*, to keep them from growing wanton with Wealth; and plunges them

them into *Debt*, to secure their *Affections*. He negotiates them into *Difficulties* and *Distresses*, to make great Sums of Money necessary for what are called *secret Services*; and bridles them with *large mercenary Armies*, to preserve them from *Tyranny, Slavery, and Oppression*.

When He hath bled them down almost to the last Gasps, He comforts them with Assurances, that They were never in so vigorous a State of Health. He desires them to judge of the publick Prosperity by his own; and insolently endeavours to convince them that they are not miserably poor, because He is exorbitantly rich.

In the same Manner that He governs Affairs at home, He would willingly rule them abroad; that is, by *Money* rather than *Ability*; but in This He commonly finds Himself disappointed. They take his *Money*, without doing his *Jobs*; unless when He sometimes happens to meet with *Ministers* of less Depth and Penetration than *Himself*.

I told Thee, *Rustan*, that this new-fangled Medley of Government seldom lasts long in the Person of one Man. Nay, Thou wilt conclude, from the small Sketch, which I have given Thee of it, that it cannot be of long Duration, without overthrowing the Constitution itself, and destroying the Prince, as well as the People. The *Robinarch* carries every Thing before Him, in the Zenith of his Power, which is too violent and rapid to be stemm'd; but at length the Cries of the People become loud and importunate, and general as their Distresses. They reach the Prince's Ears, and pierce his Heart. He makes Enquiry into their Complaints; and finding them just, rouses Himself up to Vengeance, and resolves to redress them. The *Robinarch* perceives the impending Storm. He sees it gathering over his Head, and leaves no Art untry'd to break, or divert it. There is something, *Rustan*, very tragi-comical in this Crisis of his Fate.

He writhes, winches, distorts Himself, and shews a manifest Disturbance in his Looks, his Words, and his Actions. He sinks his proud Crest. He becomes very humble and descends to little, mean Apologies for his Conduct. He desires that he may not be answerable for *Events*, though they evidently flow from his own wild Counsels and extravagant Measures. He imputes the Calamities of his Country, which his insatiable Avarice hath occasioned, to the natural Fluctuation of human Affairs; to unavoidable Accidents; the Obstinacy of foreign Powers; or the malevolent Opposition of domestick Enemies; of those very Enemies whom, upon other Occasions, he affects to treat with Indifference and Contempt. When he is beaten out of these weak Holds, he does not scruple to lay the Blame on the *Winds*, the *Weather* and the *Seasons*; and even presumes to arraign Providence as the Author of his Mismanagement. Thou can'st not be surprized, *Ruslan*, to hear that such a Man will stick at nothing to secure himself in this Distress; that he is false, ungrateful and perfidious; that he cancels all Obligations, human and divine; and is willing to give up a *Friend*, a *Relation*, or even a BROTHER, who hath proved faithful to Him for many Years, to the Disadvantage of his own Character, and been ready to lend his *Name* and *Authority*, upon all Occasions, to support Him in his unrighteous Power. But the People (the injur'd, enraged People) will not be satisfy'd with This. They keep their Eyes stedfastly fix'd on the *Principal* of their Misfortunes, and will not suffer them to be diverted by such a mock Sacrifice of his *inferior Agents* and *Accomplices*. They know very well who hath been their *great Oppressor*, and expect to see Him made an Example of Justice.

The *Gothick* Governments of the North, *Ruslan*, are naturally subject to these *Robinarchal* Usurpations. I have been informed that *England* itself (the best con-

stituted of them all) hath not been intirely free from them. They tell me that, even in the Time of their most favourite Princess, Queen *Elizabeth*, (who reigned about a Century and an half ago,) a *Robinocracy* prevail'd for some Years in the Person of the Earl of *Leicester*, her *prime Minister*; and that several have been establish'd since that Time, under some of their *best* and *wisest* Princes.

How painful a Task must it be, *Ruslan*, for a brave People to submit to such a mean, plebeian and inglorious Tyranny? Is it not much more tolerable to be Slaves, as our *Asiaticks* are, under a great, high-born Prince, whose Lineage sets Him above the Level of other Men, than to crouch and truckle to a Fellow-Subject, an Upstart of Yesterday, whose only Pre-eminence consists in his exalted Guilt and distinguish'd Genius for Wickedness?

—The 4th of the Moon
Zilcade 1726.

A.

From my own Chambers.

I Have just read a very stupid and angry Letter publish'd in the *Daily Journal*, signed *Atticus*; of which I should have taken no Notice, had he not promised to give me the Reasons of the Equipment and Continuance of a Fleet at *Spithead*, this whole Summer, if I desire it. I do desire it of this Author, (whom I presume to be in the *Secret*) and promise to consider what He shall be pleas'd to communicate upon this Subject.

Tuesday, Oct. 14.

CAL. D'ANVERS.



N^o 173. SATURDAY, *October* 25, 1729.

Some Considerations offered to the Proprietors of

SOUTH SEA STOCK.

GENTLEMEN,

IT being assured that the *South Sea Company* are fitting out another *annual Ship* for the *Spanish West-Indies*, I am induced by several Reasons to resume that Subject, and offer some short Considerations to you, which I hope will not be thought unreasonable at this Time.

It would be lost Labour, I fear, to say any Thing farther than what hath been already said, concerning *Monopolies* and *exclusive Companies*; for though it is demonstrable that they are infinitely prejudicial to Commerce in general, and, by their great Influence, almost incompatible with a free Government; yet They seem to be so firmly established in this Kingdom by their vast Capital, and the Patronage of *Those*, who find their Account in them, that We have but very little Hopes of seeing them abolished. I shall therefore confine my Observations on the *South-Sea Company* to the present State of that great Corporation.

It hath long been a Point of Dispute between the Advocates for *that Company* and the *private American Merchants*,

Merchants, whether their Trade is of any real Benefit to the *Nation*, or even to the *Company* itself; and I think all impartial Men are convinced, by the Course of the Debate, that the *private Merchants* have had much the better of the Argument. It is confessed by the warmest Advocates on your Side, that the *Affiento Trade*, of it self, is a *losing Contract*, and that the *annual Ship* was granted upon this Consideration; but the Writers, on the other Side, go farther, and undertake to prove that the *annual Ship* it self (with the *Incumbrances* upon it, and the *Accidents* that attend it) does not make you Amends, and that the *Company* are Losers by their Trade, even with this suppos'd Advantage. They have, at least, incontestably proved that *this Contract* hath almost ruined our *Plantation Trade* and the *private Merchants*, who exported more of our *Manufactures*, as they alledge, into the *Spanish West-Indies*, and imported more of their Bullion into *England*, before *this Contract* was made, than the *Company* have done since; and consequently that it is prejudicial to the Kingdom, as well as the *Company*.

I refer Those of you, who are desirous of seeing this Controversy at large, to a Pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on the Affiento Trade, as it hath been exercised by the South-Sea Company, &c.* and to the *Defence* of it against the *Company's Factor*, printed in 1728; as well as to several Letters published since, upon the same Subject, in the *Whitehall Evening Post* and the *Daily Courant*; in which you will find these Points fully provided by an Induction of Particulars.

But as my Design is to address these Considerations to the Proprietors of *South-Sea Stock*, I will allow (for Argument Sake; though contrary to my firm Opinion and Belief) that the *Affiento Trade* would be advantageous to the *Company*, if freely exercised, according to their *Contract*, without any Interruption or Molestation; yet it will not surely be pretended that
it

it hath been advantageous hitherto, when we consider the *Losses* and *Seizures*, which it hath sustained in the Year 1718, and during the late Rupture. Your *Sub-Governor* acquainted you, upon the Reduction of your Interest to 4 per Cent, that the *Losses* of the *Company*, by these *Seizures*, were *insupportable*. He gave you Hopes, indeed, that you would have Satisfaction for them; but a *greater Man* than He hath since told us, in a *greater Assembly*, that the *Spaniards* have larger Demands upon the *Company*, than the *Company* have upon them; meaning, as we presume, the Share which the King of *Spain* hath reserved to Himself, by the *Affiento Contract*, out of the Profits of the *annual Ship*; for which, it is said, the Court of *Directors* have not accounted with his catholic Majesty since that *Contract* was made. This was not, at first, generally understood, when the *Gentleman* mention'd it; and I believe many of you are still unappriz'd that there is so large a Drawback as above one *fourth Part* of the clear Profits of this Ship, besides *Rigoldo's*, or *Bribes*, to the *Spanish* Governors, and *Thief Cargoes*, or Trade upon the private Account of your own *Managers*, for which only these *Bribes* are given; I say of *this Ship*, fitted out wholly at *your Expence*, and of which you run all the Hazards.

I think it therefore highly prudent and expedient to make some Enquiries into the present State of the *Company*, the Condition of your *Stock*, and the Conduct of *Those*, who have had the Management of it, before you engage your selves again in so precarious and disputable a Trade.

I hope the Gentlemen in the *Direction* will take no Offence at my proposing some *Queries* to you, which seem proper to be asked upon this Occasion.

Q. 1. Whether the Court of *Directors* have ever made up, or laid before their *Proprietors*, since the Year 1720, any Account of their *annual Profit*, or *Loss* by Trade, or why They have not; since This is

always usual in *private Partnerships*, and is at least equally necessary in a vast, *publick Joint-stock*, in which so many thousand Families are concerned.

2. Whether your *Factories* abroad have settled Accounts with the *Company*; or why They have not; and for what Reason most of those *Factors* are still employed.

3. Whether the *Dividends* upon your Stock, for many Years past, have not greatly exceeded the *Interest* paid by the Government; and whether the *capital Stock* is not much lessen'd by these Means.

4. What is the Value of the *out-standing Bonds*; and whether the *Interest* upon them hath not greatly diminished the *capital Stock* likewise.

5. Whether there is Money sufficient, in the *Company's Treasury*, to pay off the said *Bonds*; and if there is not, whether it can be thought adviseable to plunge you farther in Debt, by stamping *more Bonds*, to the Value of *three or four hundred thousand Pounds*, in order to dispatch the Cargo of this new propos'd Adventure, which may probably run the same Fate with the former.

6. Whether the *Spaniards* have made you any Reparation for the *first Seizures* made on the *Company's Effects* in the Years 1717 and 1718, any more than for Those made *since*.

7. Whether the *Company* have ever settled any Account with the Court of *Spain*, as to their Share of the Profits of the *annual Ships*, according to the Stipulation; and what those *great Demands* are, which we are told the *Spaniards* claim of the *Company* on that Head.

8. Whether putting so great a Value into the Power of the *Spaniards*, by sending an *annual Ship*, which They can lay their Hands upon at Pleasure, hath not been the chief Reason of tempting them to prey on the *British Trade*, by having always a Pledge in their Hands to prevent *Letters of Reprisal* being granted against

against them; and whether the Case is not become, by these Means, a *national Grievance*, as well as a *particular Evil*.

9. Whether it be most advisable still to go on trading in *this Manner* and living by the *Loss*, according to the Proverb; or for the *Proprietors* to go to Work in earnest, and see how much They have lost already, since the Year 1720, before They open their *Trade* again, and before it is too late to prevent *farther Losses*.

These are Questions, Gentlemen, which I think very proper to be asked at this Time. You have certainly a Right to call upon your *Directors* for an Answer to them; and as your own Interest is so much concern'd in this Examination, I hope you will not suffer your selves to be kept any longer in the Dark, nor trust your Properties implicitly to any Sett of Men, without demanding some Account of their Conduct.

It hath been observed very well, upon this Subject, that there are Multitudes of *Orphans* and *Minors*, whose Fortunes are vested in the Stock of this Company, and order'd to remain there by the Appointment of their Parents, till They come of Age. It behoves us therefore, in Charity to Them, as well as Justice to your selves, to put you on your Guard and forewarn you against any *Projects*, or *Adventures*, which tend to their Prejudice, and the Dissipation of their *capital Stock*.

I shall only add, that if you find, upon Enquiry, that this Trade is a *losing Trade* (as I am afraid you will) and prejudicial to the Nation in general, as well as to the *Proprietors*; especially under the present Circumstances of the *Company*, with Relation to *Spain*; I hope you will not be persuaded to pursue it any farther, by the Instigation of any *particular Person*, however great, who may endeavour to secure Himself in his

Post,

Post, by giving a little, present Life to Trade, and making your Fortune subservient to his Interest. D.R.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

Dear old CRAFTY,

YOU must certainly have observed an insolent Advertisement, which hath been publish'd several Times in the *daily Papers*, giving Notice that one *Anthony le Blain*, a famous BALLANCE-MASTER, (as He calls Himself) is lately arriv'd from PARIS, and pretends to a greater Perfection in that *Art* than any Person in these Kingdoms.

This, Mr. D'Anvers, is a fresh Instance of the Vain-ry of the *French Nation*, who look upon themselves as superior to all their Neighbours in every Art and Science, both civil and military. At the same Time that the late Duke of *Marlborough* beat them in every Action in the Field, which He undertook, the *grand Monarch* heard of nothing, from his Flatterers, but Congratulations upon his Victories and heroick Exploits; and whilst our *present incomparable Statesmen* make as shining a Figure in the *Cabinet*, and turn the Fate of *Europe* at their Pleasure, an impudent *Gascoigne* comes over hither, and challenges the whole *British* Nation to vye with Him in the Art of *Ballancing*. What makes his Assurance the more ridiculous is, that as the *ENGLISH* were always esteem'd the greatest *Ballance-masters* in *Europe*, so it is well known that there is, at this Time, one of our Countrymen at *Paris*, who hath distinguish'd Himself by his great Skill in *Ballancing*, beyond any of his Predecessors, and hath truly perform'd his Part there (as *Mon-sieur le Blain* expresses it) to the *Admiration of all Spectators*.

Such

Such a Fellow as This is beneath the Resentment of the Publick, and deserves to be treated only with Contempt. He may, perhaps, divert the Mob for some Time with his Monkey Tricks; but Men of Sense will laugh at Him and despise Him. I am only sorry that the celebrated Mr. *Fawks* (who is really a great Artist in his Way) should be so far imposed upon by this *vain Braggadocio*, as to suffer Him to perform in his Theatre, and bring such a Scandal upon the *brightest Genius's* of his native Country.

It must be confess'd, indeed, that the Encouragement, which hath been shewn, of late, to some monstrous, *foreign Diversions*, may give this Fellow Hopes of meeting with the same *Eclat*; but however he may succeed for the present, I have the Pleasure to observe that our inimitable *Ballance-master* is speedily expected from *Paris*, and will, upon his Arrival, put this *arrogant Pretender* quite out of Countenance.

A.

I am, Sir, &c.



N^o 174. SATURDAY, Nov. 1, 1729.

*Or dost Thou grieve indignant now to see
The fruitless End of all thy Victory;
To see th' audacious Foe, so late subdued,
Dispute those Terms, for which so long He sued;
As if Britannia now were sunk so low,
To beg that Peace she wanted to bestow.*

CONGREVE TO COSHAM.



HE following Letter is written in so masterly a Manner, that I cannot have the Vanity to postpone it to what I proposed, for this Day, on the same Subject; which I shall now defer to another Opportunity. I hope the Publication of this Letter (which is intirely agreeable to my own Sentiments) will be an indisputable Proof of my Veneration for the Memory of King *WILLIAM*, our immortal Deliverer from civil, as well as ecclesiastical Oppression; and of my Attachment to the present Royal Family, which, by his Care and unwearied Labours for our Good, is now established on the Throne.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,

Gratitudo is a *political*, as well as a *moral* Virtue, and is no less an amiable Quality in States and Nations than in private Life. I think there cannot be

be a more certain Mark of the prevailing Degeneracy and Corruption of a People, and consequently of their impending Ruin, than when a *great Deliverance*, wrought but a few Years before, and in the Memory of many living, is in a Manner quite forgot, and the *Hero*, who was the Instrument of Providence in bringing it about, almost intirely buried in Oblivion. I will not pass so bad a Compliment on the present Age, as to say that This is the Case of our Nation, with respect to King *WILLIAM*; though I must own, that I have often grieved to hear his illustrious Name frequently mentioned with so much Coldness, even by *Those*, who make the highest Pretensions to the Principles of *Liberty*. Whether This proceeds from their governing Themselves by Maxims and Counsels, which are the very Reverse of Those, that prevailed whilst He was on the Throne; or that They are secretly conscious to Themselves, that the Effect of all their Labours and political Schemes is the undoing of what was done in his Time, I shall not presume to determine.

As the Anniversary of his *Birth* and *Landing in England* is to be celebrated next Week, I am sure, Mr. *D'Anvers*, (notwithstanding the poor Calumnies of some *obscure Wretches*) you will heartily join with me in commemorating some of the many beneficial Things, which Heaven was pleased to do for us by the Hand of this *great Prince*. It is impossible, in this short Essay, to describe the dismal Situation we were in, when He came to rescue us. Our Constitution was totally subverted; our Rights and Liberties invaded in the most open, undisguised Manner; and *religious*, as well as *civil Slavery* in a fair Way of being intailed on these Nations for ever. Then it was that the immortal *WILLIAM* the *third* interposed, and not only relieved us from these Oppressions, but put our Privileges on a more sure Footing than ever they were before. Our Ancestors had, almost from the

Beginning of the Monarchy, been asserting their Liberties, and bravely contending against the Inroachments of the Crown. It was not the House of *Stuart* only, that attempted to stretch the *Prerogative*. The best of the *Tudors* and *Plantagenets* have, at Times, made very free with the Rights of their People. But during the Reign of our *glorious Deliverer*, the People of *Great Britain* had an Opportunity of settling their Constitution on so firm a Basis, that is now impossible for any *Prince* to over-turn it. No; it must now last as long as the Island itself; unless, by a fatal Infatuation, it shall ever be basely given up by the *People themselves*; an Event, which no human Wisdom can guard against. The *Bill of Rights* (which, however defective in some Particulars, may be justly called a *second Magna Charta* of England) was intirely the Workmanship of his Hands. Such a *Bill* was proposed by his Highness in his Declaration at the *Hague*, as the only Remedy of the numberless Calamities, under which our Country then groan'd, before it was, I believe, once thought of by our most zealous Patriots at home. It is in *this Bill* that the Rights and Privileges of the *English* Subjects are so clearly defined, and the Pretensions of the Crown so wisely limited, that no Prince since that Time, ever hath, and I dare say none will ever be so hardy as to attempt a Power to *dispense with our Laws*; that great Grievance of the *English* Nation in former Times.

The *Liberty of the Press*, and the *Act of Toleration*, those two inestimable Blessings, date their Commencement from this happy Period. The retrieving of our *Coin*, when sunk so low in its Value, that the most sanguine Friends of the Government despaired of ever remedying so fatal an Evil, will always be a standing Proof of his superior Genius, and that nothing was too difficult for *Him* and his *Ministers*, where the Good of the Publick was concerned.

As

As his Designs were great, just and generous, so his Measures of pursuing them were plain, uniform and undisguised. His *Ministers*, like Himself, were Men of great Abilities and Integrity. *Ignorance*, in his Reign, was not esteemed *Merit*; nor was *Merit* thought any Disqualification for Preferment. *Arts* and *Sciences*, and *Learning* of all Kinds were encouraged, and the Patrons of them advanced to the highest Stations in Church and State. *Tillotson* adorn'd the *Mitre*; *Holt* dispens'd the *Crown-Law*; and *Somers* and *Halifax* presided in the *Cabinet*.

But his Care and Vigilance were not confin'd to our domestick Interests only. If we turn our Eyes abroad, we shall find *Great-Britain*, under his auspicious Government, rising in her Figure, and of greater Weight in the Affairs of *Europe*, than ever she had been, since the glorious Days of *Queen Elizabeth*. The Situation, Riches, Trade and naval Force of this Island may make her, at any Time, very considerable and courted by her Neighbours; but all these Advantages, in the Hands of *weak, ignorant Men*, will bring Contempt upon a Nation, instead of being of any real Service to it. We have seen, in more Reigns than one, mighty and formidable Sea-Armaments, commanded by Officers of undisputed Bravery and Conduct, sent abroad to several Parts of the World only to proclaim the Insufficiency and Stupidity of the *Ministers*, who drew up their *Orders*. Quite different was the Case in this Reign. Our Fleets triumph'd wherever they came; and, in a few Years, gave such a fatal Blow to the then potent and flourishing naval Forces of *France*, that they never began to recover till very lately, by the particular Management of *some Gentlemen*, whom every Body knows. Indeed, next to the personal Bravery and great Abilities of our Sovereign, nothing contributed more to our growing Reputation, than the Situation we were then in, with Respect to *foreign Princes*. We had no *unnatural Alliances*. All our *Confederates*

were our *Friends* by their *own Interest*; and we had no War but with our natural Enemies the *French*, which hath always proved happy for *England*; whereas I defy any Person to produce one single Instance of our doing any great Things, or so much as of our making but a tolerable Figure, when in Conjunction with them. Happy was it for *Us*, happy for all *Europe*, that the humbling and keeping within due Bounds the exorbitant Ambition of *Louis le Grand* was the reigning Inclination of King *William's* Soul. Though the Parliament was vastly more sparing of their Money than they have ever been since; though *Aids* and *Taxes* were not near so liberally granted, as we have seen them of late Years; how effectually did our Monarch check his unjust Attempts, and put a Stop to those mighty Designs, which, if crown'd with Success, must of Course have enslaved Christendom? Then, if We consider that the immortal Duke of *Marlborough*, and all the other great Generals in Queen *Anne's* War, only walked in his Steps and followed the Plan laid down by Him; We shall find all those Laurels, which were gained in the second *French* War, originally owing to Him. Our Country was then bless'd with *Statesmen*, who understood the Interest of the Nation, being well versed in *foreign Affairs*; and, what seldom happens, we were then equal to the *French* in the *Cabinet*, as well as in the *Field*. What a glorious Figure did *England* make in the Treaty of *Ryswick*? Her Decisions were a Law to all her *Allies*; and *France* was obliged to comply with her Demands. With what a noble Scorn and Contempt did our *heroick Sovereign* reply to the *French Plenipotentiaries*, who made a great Merit of their owning his Right to the Crown of *Great-Britain*; that they might withdraw that Article, if They pleased; for he was King of a People, who were able to defend his Title against the *French*, and all his Opposers? I know the *Partition Treaty* is commonly alledg'd, to prove that we were Bubbles to *France* then, as well

as we have been since. I confess, indeed, that the only material Error of King *William's* Reign was his *once*, and *but once*, trusting to *France* ; which I hope will be no Injury to his Memory, but rather a Warning to our Countrymen never to engage too deeply with a Nation, which by its Situation will always find its Account in our Distresses and Calamities. But I wish the Gentlemen, who object *This*, would consider how soon King *William* perceived his Error ; that He did not go on from *one Mistake* to *another* ; nor suffer Himself to be trifled with for several Years together. No ; upon the first Discovery of the Insincerity of that faithless Court, He early concerted such Measures, as were afterwards so bravely executed by the *English* and their *Confederates*, whom he had taught to conquer.

In this glorious Reign, We had no tedious, sauntering *Congresses*, strolling from one Town to another, and shifting Places as often as the *French* Court ; no teasing and bribing our Allies for a *Peace*, which we despair'd of obtaining by our own Address. It was not then in the Power either of our pretended Friends, or real Enemies, to tie up our Hands, or prevent us from making Use of a numerous and brave Fleet, fitted out at immense Charges, and yet with great Chearfulness, by a People, who were fond of putting their Prince and Country in a Condition to do Themselves Justice by more noble Methods than a slavish Dependence on *foreign Counsels and Allies*, whose Interest it is to weaken and impoverish us. We then had *Ministers*, who defended our *Plantations*, by erecting Forts in necessary Places, and sending Troops to their Assistance, without asking Leave of a *Foreigner* ; nor durst any imperious *French Priest* presume to make them shamefully desist, or to dismiss their *Transports*, after They were actually contracted for to carry them over. No *Embargoes* were then laid on our Shipping on *false Alarms* ; and, by *meer Indolence and Forgetfulness*, con-

tinued long after the Falshood of such Rumours was generally known; as if the most beneficial Part of our Commerce was below the Notice of *Ministers*; and it was of no worse Consequence to detain a vast Number of richly laden Merchant Ships, than for my Lord PUZZLE to keep a *Levese-hunter* hanging on half a Day in his Anti-Chamber. Our *Navy* was then our Glory and our Defence, far from being a Reproach to us, and a standing Jest all over Europe. The Reputation of a *British Ministry* did not then run so low, nor did their Conduct stand in Need of such wretched Excuses, as to complain that all their Negotiations abroad were frustrated by *malecontents Wretches* at home, and all their Forces and Projects baffled by *Pamphlets* and *News-papers*; which, on other Occasions, They pretended to despise. It would not have been reckoned a great Matter of Triumph, at that time, to have obtained a *Peace*, after more than three Years bribing and importuning of *foreign Courts*; nor would a *Minister* then have been esteem'd a *Machiavel*, who after frequently boasting that He had finally adjusted all the Affairs of his Country, was forced to leap at a *patch'd-up Truce*, and set his Hirelings at Work to extol Him for such a Masterpiece of Policy; though He might have had it long before on the *same Terms*; which, if then accepted, might have diminish'd the Expences of the Publick, and saved the Scandal of such contradictory Management. I do not mention it, amongst the Glories peculiar to this Reign, that our *Trade* was protected, and that our *Merchants* had Liberty to defend themselves and their Properties, or to revenge their Losses on the Enemy; because, even under the *very worst of Administrations*, when our Affairs were at the greatest Extremity, and our *Ministers* the most under *foreign Influence*, there is not, I believe, one Instance in our History of denying them this *natural Right*. It was always a Thing granted of Course, and as soon as demanded. How would

would it have shock'd the *Ministers* of this *great King*; how would They have mourn'd *their own*, and their *Prince's*, and their *Country's* deplorable Condition, if all their Hopes and Expectations, all their Negotiations and Treaties had been in the Power, and lain at the Mercy of their worst Enemy, the *French King*, or his *Prime Minister*?

But not to insist any longer on this negative Description of our *great Deliverer's* Reign, I could not acquit myself of Ingratitude, if I forgot to take Notice that the greatest, and indeed the only Security of all the Blessings procured to us by King *William*, was the settling the Succession to the Crown in the illustrious House of *Hanover*. To This, his most valuable Legacy, we are indebted for the undisturb'd Possession of all our Liberties and Privileges, and for his most gracious Majesty now on the Throne; whose Goodness, Justice and Integrity will always endear Him to his Subjects; for whatever Objections some Gentlemen are pleas'd to make against the Conduct of our *present Ministers*, I never yet met with one unprejudiced Person, who was not satisfied that his Majesty had the Good and Interest of all his Subjects intirely at Heart, and would always make the *Laws of the Land* the Measure of his Government.

Cornhill, Oct. 23.

I am, SIR, &c.

R.

From my own Chambers.

IT is a sad Thing for a Man to make *rash Vows*; as I am very sensible I did, when I promised to consider what a *certain Writer* (who calls Himself *Atticus*) should be pleas'd to communicate, concerning the Continuance of the united Fleet at *Spithead*, during the whole Summer. It may be necessary therefore, for the Satisfaction of some particular Persons, just to take Notice of this Man; tho' I find the World in general

are inclined to discharge me of the Obligation, and do not seem to expect that I should answer a Letter, which is so far from teeming with *Arguments* and *Reasons*, as He promis'd us, that it is most egregiously void of *grammatical Construction* and *common Sense*.

He begins in the Style of a *Bravo*, and tells the World, that Mr. D'Anvers often says *That of a Man, He don't dare say to Him*. Now, if He means by This, that I don't dare speak my Mind, in plain Terms, to his *Patron*, I confess there is some Truth in it; and, I think, I could give several political Reasons, which would make it very improper to deal so frankly with a *Gentleman in his Station*; but if *Atticus* means *Himself* only, I can assure Him that I shall never be afraid of saying *That to Him*, which all the World says of Him.

In the mean Time, let us take a short View of his *Reasons*, which He seems to be conscious will not be *satisfactory to Me, though they should prove highly so to all Mankind besides*. Why truly, He is quite in the Right as to *my self*. They are far from giving me any *Satisfaction*; and if in This I should be so unhappy as to differ from *all the rest of Mankind*, (as this *Sham-Atticus*, this *Instrument of Government*, modestly insinuates) I can't help it. Alas! I have long had the Misfortune of dissenting from *Majorities*!

Sir Richard Steele observed, in his Letter to Sir Miles Wharton, *that many extraordinary Things had been brought about, at that Time, upon a Maxim no deeper than PAX potior BELLO; PEACE is better than WAR*; and I think all the Reasons of *Atticus*, and his *Brother-Writers*, for the *pacifick Fleet*, now in Dispute, may be summed up in another Maxim, equally deep; *Pax quaritur Bello; Peace is obtained by War*; or, according to their Explanation, by *warlike Preparations and Menaces, without striking a Blow*. I wish this Maxim may hold good in the present Instance. It is well known that We have been *making Peace, Sword in Hand*

Hand (according to this Maxim) above these three Years together, without Success; and I do not find that this *domestick Expedition* hath yet produced any better Effect than all our former *Expeditions abroad*; but I am willing to hope, with *Asticus*, that We shall soon see the good Effect of it.

He tells us, that the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* made the Equipment of this Squadron necessary; that all the chief Powers, who were able to injure us, threatned us with *military Preparations*, and that there does not appear to have been any *Assurances*, which might be depended on, that they would not instantly have enter'd upon *Action*. See what Discoveries Time hath made! During the *last Session*, We were told very confidently, that the Affairs of *Europe* were in a very good Situation; and We had very solemn *Assurances* given us, that a *Peace* was so far advanced, that it wanted only the *Form of a Treaty*; but indeed I never thought, for my Part, that *these Assurances* could be depended on.

Well then, a *great Fleet* was necessary at this Juncture—For what? Why, says the *Apologist*, to avert this impending Storm; to protect our Trade; to procure Satisfaction by Arms for Depredations already committed, and to force a Compliance, necessary to the Tranquillity of *Europe*. Here it is proper to remark that the first of these Reasons is the same that I urged in Justification of this Fleet; that it had secured us from any Invasions, or Attempts, which might otherwise have been made, in Favour of the *PRETENDER*; though I never heard of any intended Embarkation for that Purpose, till this Writer was pleas'd to acquaint us with it. I did not indeed mention, amongst my Reasons, the Protection of our Trade, and procuring Satisfaction for past Depredations, because I did not find that those good Ends were then obtained by it. Neither am I yet fully convinc'd that this Fleet hath forced the Spaniards into a Compliance with our Demands.

But

But, says the *Apologist* again, *why might not Those, who had before insulted us by Land, and unjustly ravaged by Sea, have done the same again, had They not been awed by the Terror of our Navy? How, without This, might They not for a Time have usurp'd the Sovereignty of the Seas; infested our Coasts; interrupted all Commerce; and done us infinite Damage and Dishonour?—To all which I shall only say, that I wish our Accounts from the West-Indies did not confirm the Continuance of these Insults and Ravages, which infest our Coasts, and interrupt all Commerce in those Parts, to our infinite Damage (and I am afraid I might say) our Dishonour.*

The *Apologist* goes on, and asks; *how highly probable is it, that to this Fleet We owe the Preservation of so valuable an Acquisition as Jamaica?* I am glad to hear, that *this Island* is ever so happy as to have a Share in the Consultations of *Great-Britain*; but the Gentlemen of *Jamaica*, according to all Advices from thence, had no Apprehensions of this Nature, nor felt any Uneasiness, after the first Alarm, but what proceeded from a *long Embargo*, in the most critical Season, and the Continuance of *martial Law*, for several Months, upon this Occasion.

But *how unhappy is it* (says our *Atticus*) *that so judicious, so wise a People as the Dutch should differ from Mr. D'Anvers?*—Really, I am not conscious of any Difference between their *High-Mightinesses* and *My self*; and I hope it will not be in the Power of the *Apologist* to create one between us. But This hath been an Argument much insisted on, to justify the Equipment and Continuance of the Fleet at *Spithead*; that it must have been done for *very good Reasons*, because the *Dutch* co-operated with Us. Whereas I can see no manner of force in it; for it is possible that the *Dutch* might have *secret Reasons* for their Conduct, which are not yet communicated to the World; or perhaps our *Malecontents* will take the Liberty to say,

that

that the wisest People may happen to play the Fool upon some Occasions.

Mr. Atticus does me the Honour to copy after me in his Justification of *this Fleet*, on another Account; I mean the *Money*, which hath been spent at *Portsmouth*, and other Places, by People, who went to see it. He tells us, *that the Country does not complain of the Fleet's lying at Spithead; or that the Money was spent at home, rather than abroad; which is, I think, an excellent Argument for always keeping our Fleets in our own Harbours, or upon our own Coasts.*

However, We must do Him the Justice to acknowledge, that He insists upon greater Matters; for He says, that *pursuant to This* (the Combination of the *English and Dutch Squadrons*) *We heard of their making Advances, coming into Concessions, abating in their Demands, removing Obstacles, giving agreeable Assurances, and doing the utmost could be expected to shew their Inclination to renew the antient Amity subsisting between the two Crowns.* I wish I could congratulate my Country on the Truth and Certainty of these Particulars; for if this *provisional Fleet* (as another Writer calls it) hath actually forc'd the *Spaniards* into a *Compliance*, it is needless to produce any other Reasons in its Justification. But we have not yet received any Account that they have *comply'd*; which I think We should have obliged them to do, before the Fleet was *separated*; for though it might, perhaps, have some Effect upon them, whilst it lay in that formidable Manner at *Spithead*; yet They may resort to their usual Evasions, now that Terror is withdrawn, and put us to the Expence of another such Fleet, next Summer, for the same Purpose.

But to go farther; supposing the *Spaniards* are in a Disposition to *comply*, I think it very probable that it is not owing so much to *this Fleet*, as to the Incident of the *Dauphin's Birth*, which hath broke the *Spanish Faction*

Faction in France. This Point hath been much insisted on by the Writers on the *other Side*; and I will defy *some Persons*, as *Englishmen*, to give any other Reason for their extraordinary and extravagant Joy upon this Occasion.

Atticus therefore might as well have summ'd up his whole *Apology* with saying, *that the Dauphin's Birth was intirely owing to the Fleet at Spithead.*

I doubt not that the Gentlemen, in the publick Direction, are able to give much better Reasons for this Armament, than their *Apologist*, when call'd upon in a proper Place, and by a proper Authority; for otherwise our *Malecontents* would have Reason for calling it a very *useless, ill-advis'd and unjustifiable Equipment.*

I have neither Room nor Inclination to take any Notice of all the low, senseless Ribaldry, with which his *Letter* abounds; and shall only observe farther, that I believe the NOBLE PERSON, whom He charges me with aspersing, will be much less offended with any Thing I have written, than with the prostitute Flattery of a *Writer*, who not only defies us to point out *one false Step*, or *bad Action*, during the whole Course of his Administration, but undertakes likewise that He *never will be guilty of any.*

I will conclude with a seasonable Passage out of *Machiavel's Prince*, which is doing this *Scribbler* too much Honour, as it is quoting one of the *best Writers upon Politicks* against the *very worst.*

“ The *Romans* acted as all wise Princes ought to do, who are to have an Eye not only upon *present*, but *future Incommodities*, and to redress them with all possible Industry; for *Dangers*, that are *seen afar off*, are easily prevented; but *protracting* till They are at Hand, the Remedies grow unseasonable, and the Malady incurable. It falls out in this Case, as the Physicians say of an *hætick Fever*; that at first it is easily cured and hard to be known; but in
Process

" Process of Time, not being observed or resisted in
 " the Beginning, it becomes easy to be known, but
 " very difficult to be cured. So it is in *Matters of*
 " *State*. Things, which are discover'd at a Distance,
 " (which is done only by *prudent Men*) produce little
 " Mischiefs, but what is easily averted; but when,
 " through *Ignorance* or *Inadvertency*, They come to
 " that Height that every one discerns them, there is
 " no Room for any Remedy, and the Disease is in-
 " curable. The *Romans* therefore, foreseeing their
 " Trouble afar off, oppos'd themselves in Time, and
 " never swallow'd any Injury to put off a WAR; for
 " they knew that War was not avoided, but deferred
 " thereby, and commonly with Advantage to the
 " Enemy. Wherefore They chose rather to make War
 " upon *Philip* and *Antiochus* in *Greece*, than suffer
 " them to invade *Italy*; and yet, at that Time, there
 " was no Necessity of either. They might have avoided
 " both; but they thought it not fit; for They could
 " never relish the Saying, that is so frequent in the
 " Mouth of our New POLITICIANS, to enjoy the pre-
 " sent Benefit of Time; but prefer'd the Exercise of
 " their Courage and Wisdom; for Time carries all
 " Things along with it, and may bring Good, as well
 " as Evil, and Evil as well as Good."

GRAY'S-INN, Oct. 27. 1729.

D.

CAL. D'ANVERS.





N^o 175. SATURDAY, Nov. 8, 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq ;

S I R,



Did myself the Honour, about this Time Twelve-month, to send you some Remarks on the *Spanish Depredations* in the *West-Indies*. The Continuance of the same Outrage, and the fresh Misfortunes of *two of our most considerable Colonies* there, call upon me to trouble you once more in their Behalf. The long *Embargoes*, which have been laid upon the Ships at *Jamaica* and *Virginia*, are well known to every one. The Complaints of the *Merchants* are very loud and frequent on this Account; and, if what they say be true, (as I am always inclin'd to believe the *Merchants*) these *Embargoes* have done us very near as much Prejudice as the Violence and open Force of the *Spaniards*; for I am inform'd that the *French*, by these Means, have been able to stock the *European* Markets with *Sugar* and *Tobacco*; while our Commodities of that Kind lie neglected on our Hands. Indeed the Customs this Year will rise higher from our *small Exportation*, and consequently from the *few Drawbacks*, which will be paid; so that there will be no Likelihood of an *Arrear*, or *Deficiency* to be supply'd again. But as the *French* have had an Opportunity of breaking in upon our *Plantation Trade*, it is certain that our *Colonies* must decline more and more; and the Customs, which

which receive large Supplies from thence, must decrease for the future, and the *civil List* fall off, in Proportion to the Decay of our *Trade*. No good Subject can see any Abatement in *this Part* of the Revenue, without great Concern; because so large a Share of it is appropriated for his *Majesty's Household*, to support the great and necessary Expence of it with proper Lustre, Dignity and Honour.

But if this Fact of the *Embargoes*, and the Consequences of them be true, it may perhaps be worth our while to consider what Right in general a Governor of a Plantation has to lay an *Embargo* on Shipping; and, in the next Place, if there be such a Right, what true and justifiable Cause there was, in the present Case, for these *long* and *mischievous Embargoes* at *Jamaica* and *Virginia*.

As to the *first*, I have been informed, that it has been much controverted by eminent Lawyers, whether even the *King* himself has, by Law, a Power to lay an *Embargo*. It is certainly, during the Time, an entire Stop to *Trade* in that Instance. It puts the Property of the Subject absolutely in the Power of the *Prince*, and makes him, in that particular, compleatly *arbitrary*. But considering that *absolute Necessity* may justify such a Power; that there must be a *real Cause* for the Exercise of it, equal to the Power itself; and that the only Rule and Measure of exercising it is the Welfare and Safety of the Nation; I think the *King* has this Power, and may use it under these several Limitations. But if there be no *true, real, and great Cause* for executing this Part of Sovereignty; or if it take any other Turn than the *publick Good*; then it is no longer *Prerogative*, but *arbitrary, lawless Will*.

But it does by no Means follow, that though the *King* may have this *special and great Prerogative*, therefore a *Governor of a Colony* should have it; for perhaps This may be an *inherent, incommunicable Prerogative*

not *grantable* to the Subject; or should it be *grantable*, yet if it be not *actually granted*, no Governor of a Plantation can do such an Act, without the Concurrence of the Legislature of that Country. Their Consent is necessary; because they are to be bound, and suffer all the Consequences of such a Resolution.

But supposing farther, that our *Plantation-Governors* are capable of having this Power; and moreover that they all have it in their *Commissions*; the next Point to be consider'd will be, what true and justifiable Cause there was for these *long Embargoes*.

As to *Jamaica*, the Apprehension we had of a Descent from the *Spaniards* was the publick Reason of that *Embargo*; and as I am a Well-wisher to the *Ministry*, I will suppose Information was given to them, either by our *Ambassadors abroad*, or by *some Ally* entirely in our Interests. I will suppose that the Design was *really intended*; nay that Measures were actually taken by the *Spaniards* for an Invasion; that immediately, upon such Information here, *Advice* of it was sent abroad, and not only *Advice*, but *proper*, and *timely Assistance*; for if any of These fail, then the Question will recur whether there was a *just Cause* for this *Embargo*. I know it has been objected by the *Jacobite Party*, that a Squadron of *Men of War*, with a proper Number of *Soldiers*, should have been sent to *Jamaica* at the same Time, that the Account of the *intended Invasion* was sent thither; but such an *armed Force* must needs have given Umbrage to our *Allies*, and have intirely disturbed the *pacifick Measures* hitherto taken by us. I am however confident of This, that *some Assistance* was sent; tho' I am afraid it fell into the Hands of the *Guarda Costa's*, because I have not heard that any has yet arrived at *Jamaica*.

As to *Virginia*, I am indeed at a Loss to give any sufficient Reason for that *Embargo*. That Colony is a good Way removed from the *Spaniards*; so that there could

could be no Apprehensions from them. The *French* are our Bosom Friends; I mean in *Europe*; for in the *West-Indies* they do us all the Mischief they can, and stir up the *Indians* to invade our Plantations. Perhaps, some Invasion of *this Sort* might occasion that *Embargo*. The *French* have large Settlements at *Canada*, and down the *Mississippi*, equal to ours in their Extent, as well as the Goodness and Variety of their Commodities. They are likewise encreasing and improving them every Day. They are now settling *Santa Lucia* and *Sr. Vincent*, in the Neighbourhood of *Barbadoes*, and which lie in a most advantageous Situation to interrupt all the *Leeward-Island Trade*, and to be protected by their great Settlement at *Martinico*. I am unwilling to believe that our late Misfortunes are owing to them; for They certainly are in our Interests, notwithstanding the Suggestions of *Jacobites* and *Malecontents*; because it is so much their Advantage to be true to, and sincere with us. And though they have received immense Benefit from *these Embargoes*, yet I am persuaded it was only *accidental*, and did not proceed from any *Scheme*, or *labour'd Design*. I will likewise suppose here, as I did in the Case of *Jamaica*, that there was a *just Cause* for *this Embargo*; and that the Measures were *wise* and *necessary*; for I can never bring myself to think that any *one Minister*, or a *whole Ministry*, could direct a Thing of such an extraordinary Nature, as an *Embargo* is, unless it was certain that there was a *great* and *impending Mischief*. Such Conduct would be very *weak* and *dangerous*; because the Legislature have, in many Acts of Parliament, express'd the Sense they had of the *great Importance* of *our Plantations*; and the *Neglect* of them was made a principal Article of *high Treason* against the Earl of *Clarendon*; who, though greatly deserving of his Country in many Respects, could not, on this Account, escape the just Resentment and Indignation of the *House of Commons*.

You will observe, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that these Observations, on the Subject of *Embargoes*, are as general as I could possibly make them, considering the present Circumstances of our Colonies and Plantations; but I must do the Governor of *Jamaica* the Justice to acknowledge, that I have been informed He laid his *Instructions*, concerning this Descent of the *Spaniards*, before the Council of that Island, and made their Advice the Guide of his Conduct, in laying the *Embargo*, and declaring *martial Law*. I hope the Governor of *Virginia* took the same Precaution. But it is not my Business to enquire by *whose prevailing Authority* This was done. Certain it is, that it hath been of very great Prejudice to our Trade, and if it cannot be warranted by *substantial Reasons*, Somebody ought to be answerable for it; a Point, which I think deserves the Consideration of the *Legislature*.

I am, S I R, &c.

C.

W. RALEIGH.



N^o 176. SATURDAY, *November 15, 1729.*

“ The painful Struggle under so great a Difficulty,
 “ as explaining with a *Ministry* in open Contradiction
 “ to their Proceedings, is what can be supported by
 “ nothing less than the Testimony of a good Conscience,
 “ and an Heart pure from a vicious Ambition. And These
 “ are such Supports as will keep a Man from *languishing*
 “ in *Discontent*, should He, amidst the Prosperities of the
 “ Cause

" Cause He hath endeavour'd to serve, live to find
 " Zeal for the Publick, of all human Virtues, the
 " most expos'd to the cool Comfort of being *its own*
 " Reward; and That, which was undertaken against
 " the Inclinations to Mirth and Pleasure, out of a
 " Sense of Duty and Honour, to have little other Ef-
 " fect, than to become a *Man's Characteristick*, and
 " by that Means to give a *turbulent Air* to all his
 " other Pretensions; and even to sink the Agreeable-
 " ness of the Friend and Companion, by the Appear-
 " ance of somewhat supposed to be demanding in the
 " Patriot.

*Sir RICHARD STEELE's Dedication to the
 Earl of Clare, now Duke of Newcastle.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



OUR little, nibbling Adversaries have
 call'd upon you very clamorously, for
 some Weeks past, to justify an Assertion,
 which you dropt in a cursory Manner,
 concerning the late *Sir Richard Steele*; viz.
That some Persons, who not only neglected Him, but
as'd him infamously, when living, are now endeavour-
ing to do themselves Honour by raising Monuments to
his Memory; which last Expression They explain in a
literal Sense, and apply it to a certain Gentleman, who
 was said, in our News Papers, to have a Design of
 erecting a Monument to his Memory in *Westminster-*
Abbey. Whereas I believe you intended it only in a
metaphorical Sense, and apply'd it to all Those, who
mal-treated Him, when living, and affected to praise
and extol Him, after He was dead; for by using the
 Term *some Persons*, in the plural Number, you could
 not mean to direct it against any one particular Gen-
 tleman; though I conceive that it would be no very

Q 3

difficult

difficult Matter to justify it, even in *that Sense*, if it was a Matter of sufficient Importance to deserve the Attention of the Publick. That He thought Himself *neglected*, appears very plainly from the Quotation, placed at the Head of this Letter, from his Dedication to the present Duke of *Newcastle*, which was publish'd so early in the last Reign as the Year 1715. How he was used, some Years after, with Regard to his *Patent*, for the Government of the *old Play-house*, is very well known to most People, and may be seen in the Papers, intitled the *Theatre*, which He published on that Occasion. I could also refer to his Letter to the late *Earl of OXFORD*, publish'd about the same Time, and to some other Writings, which fully manifest his own Sense of the Conduct of *certain Gentlemen*, and the Treatment He received from them; which made Him frequently call Himself the *Grenadier of a Party*, who fought for them, and run the greatest Hazards for a very small Reward. Nay, it is well known that no Endeavours were spared even to render Him contemptible and ridiculous, both *within Doors* and *without*. Whether He received as much as He *deserv'd*, is what I shall not pretend to determine, in this *nice Age of proportioning Rewards to Merit and Service*, as He expresses it Himself. It is a Point as foreign to the present Question, (*whether Sir Richard Steele was ill used or not*) as if I should assert *that* some other Persons *have received much more than They deserved*.

I think you therefore very much in the Right, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to wave such personal Controversies as These; which can be of no Service to the Publick, and are thrown out with no other View than to divert you from more important Enquiries. I mention it only by Way of Introduction to another Point, of the greatest Consequence to us, as a flourishing People; I mean the present State of *DUNKIRK*; an Affair, in which *Sir Richard Steele* formerly signaliz'd Himself in so remarkable Manner. I.

I refer the Reader to his *political Writings*, (which are collected into a little Volume) for a particular Account of the Importance of this Place to our *Trade, Navigation*, and even our *Security*, as a Nation, against the Designs of *France*; and shall only observe in general, that it annoyed our Merchants in so terrible a Manner, and did us such infinite Damage, during the last War, (*more than almost all the Ports of France, either in the Ocean, or the Mediterranean.*) that our Ministers could not entertain any Thoughts of a *Peace*, without a preliminary Article for the *Demolition of Dunkirk*; by which it is not only stipulated that the *Town and Port of Dunkirk shall be demolish'd*, but *that it never shall be an Harbour again*. The Article runs thus.

“ The most christian King shall take Care that all
 “ the Fortifications of the City of *Dunkirk* be razed;
 “ that the Harbour be filled up; and that the Sluices,
 “ or Moles, which serve to cleanse the Harbour, be
 “ levelled; and That at the said King's own Expence,
 “ within the Space of five Months after the Condi-
 “ tions of Peace are concluded and sign'd; that is to
 “ say, the Fortifications towards the Sea, within the
 “ Space of two Months, and Those towards the Land,
 “ together with the said Banks, within three Months;
 “ on this express Condition also, that the said Forti-
 “ cations, Harbour, Moles, or Sluices, be NEVER RE-
 “ PAIRED AGAIN.”

This Article is very *full, clear, and explicit* to the Purpose. It contains no *Ambiguities*, and leaves no Room for *Evasion*; tho' it must be confess'd that the *French*, according to Custom, endeavoured to elude it as soon as the *Peace* was signed. They demolished the Fortifications to the *Land-side*, in Pursuance to their Stipulation; but left the *Moles, Dykes, and Harbour* intire for several Months; and sent over the *Sieur Tugge*, Deputy-Governor of the Town, with a Petition to the Queen, desiring Her to remit that Part
 of

of the Treaty; but He met with a Repulse from her Majesty, and was told by her *principal Secretary of State, (as Sir RICHARD STEELE informs us,) that She insisted on the *Demolition*. He then caused his *Petition* to be printed, and dispersed about Towns, in order to work upon the Passions of the common People. It was upon this Occasion that Sir *Richard Steele* took up the Cause and proved, by irrefragable Arguments, that it was of little Consequence to *England*, whether the *Works to the Land* were demolished or not; that all the Prejudice, which we had received from *Dunkirk*, proceeded from the *Port and Harbour*; that his most christian Majesty had contracted to destroy *them* as well as the *other*; and that the *British Nation* expected an immediate Compliance with that Part of the Treaty.

It is true, that the Manner, in which Sir *Richard* urged this Affair, met with the *Repentment* of the *House of Commons*; but his Writings had, in some Measure, their intended Effect. The *French* were obliged to put the *Letter* of the Article in Execution; but had Recourse to another Artifice to evade the *Spirit* of it, by filling up the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and opening another at *Mardyke*, which answered the same Purpose. This engaged Sir *Richard Steele* to pursue his Subject, and shew the Fallacy of such Conduct in a Pamphlet, intitled the *French Faith represented in the present State of DUNKIRK*; in which the Reader will find some very just and pertinent Observations on the Treachery of *that Nation*, on several Occasions.

When his late Majesty came to the Crown, He remonstrated against the Works at *Mardyke*, as an Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and obliged the Court of *France* to discontinue that Project.

Having premis'd thus much, I come to the Point proposed in this Letter; which is to enquire whether *Dunkirk* continues in the State, that is stipulated by the Treaty

* The Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

Treaty of Utrecht, or whether it is made a *Port* and *Harbour* again.

You gave us Notice, Mr. *D'Anvers*, almost two Years ago, that the *French* had then clear'd the Harbour so far, by letting in the *Land Waters*, as to admit Ships of considerable Burthen; which They pretended was done providentially by the *Tides*. Nay, the News-Papers informed us that the People of *Dunkirk* had even petitioned their Sovereign to repair it intirely; and that his Majesty returned only for Answer, *that it was not yet a proper Time to think of that Affair*; which imply'd too strongly that a *proper Time* would come; though the Faith and Honour of the *French* Nation are solemnly engaged, by the Article before-mentioned, *that Dunkirk shall never be repaired, or made an Harbour* again.

You have since often repeated these Notices; and if what hath been confidently reported (and never yet contradicted) is true, the Gentlemen in the *Administration* have not been without some Apprehensions of this Nature; for it is said that Colonel *Armstrong*, our first Engineer, was some time ago sent over to *Dunkirk*, by *Authority* from hence, to inspect the Condition of that Harbour; but not having obtained a Licence for that Purpose from the Court of *France*, the *Governor* would not permit Him to execute his Commission, but caused Him to be taken up, and confined with a Guard upon Him.

What I would infer from hence is, that (if this Account is true) the Conduct of the *French* Governor, towards Colonel *Armstrong*, seems to be a tacit Confession that something hath been done, contrary to the *Article of Demolition*; for if the Harbour continues in the same Condition, which was stipulated by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, no good Reason can be given for his refusing any Person to view it; and if Colonel *Armstrong* had found the Report of its being repaired to be absolutely groundless, I doubt not that We should

should have seen it published long ago, in order to remove that Jealousy and Uncharitableness, which the People of *England* have conceived upon this Occasion.

This, I say, is of itself a very strong Presumption, that the *French* are conscious of some Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

There is another Thing, Mr. D'Amers, which makes me suspect that these repeated Accounts about *Dunkirk* have some Foundation; which is, that none of the numerous *Writers against you* (who lay hold of every little Opportunity to falsify your Assertions) have thought fit to contradict you in *this Point*. I am afraid they have examin'd their *Masters* about it, and find it too true to be denied.

It is proper to observe, that the Cession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, were the only great Advantages, which we acquired by all the Blood and Treasure, that were consumed in *two long Wars*. Our Title to *Gibraltar* hath been since call'd in Question by the *Spaniards*, who have already put us to a very great Expence in maintaining it; and if the *French*, in Violation of Treaties, should repair *Dunkirk*, I tremble to think of the Consequencers. Millions on Millions have, in such a Case, been expended to no Purpose. Our *Trade* must become infinitely more precarious than it is already, and almost absolutely dependent on the Pleasure of *France*. Our Coasts will be exposed to continual Dangers, and our Ships will not be safe in our own Harbours.

What would make such an Attempt still more unjustifiable, is, that the *French* had an *Equivalent* given Them for *Dunkirk*, before it was demolish'd.

I do not assert that these Reports are true; but I think it a Matter, which deserves immediate Enquiry, and heartily wish that they may prove false, both for our own *Safety*, and the Honour of our *Allies*.

In the mean time, give me Leave, Sir, to conclude in the Words of Sir *Richard Steele* upon this Subject.

" Alas! what signifies multiplying Words? Look
" but upon this *Map*, and it is Demonstration that
" our *Trade* and our *Liberty* are, contrary to a solemn
" Treaty, exposed to the Power of *France*; and what
" remains, but that we implore Heaven that the *Legislature*
" would lay aside all Animosities, and exert
" Themselves in Defence of their *deluded* and *insulted*
" Country?

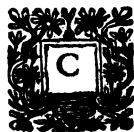
A.

I am, SIR, &c.

Cornhill, Nov. 7, 1729.



N^o 177. SATURDAY, *November 22, 1729.*



ARDINAL RICHELIEU hath left behind Him several Marks of a great Statesman in his *Writings*, as well as his *Actions*; and though I am far from justifying, or approving all his *political Maxims*; yet when I look upon Him as the Minister of an *absolute Prince*, and consider that his View was to make his Master as great as possible, according to *that Form of Government*; I cannot help thinking that He writes much more candidly, impartially and honestly, than our modern Advocates for Power in a *free Country*.

I have now before me the *Testament politique* of that great Man, which He wrote for the Instruction of his Master, *Louis XIII.* and as a Guide to his Conduct in the Reformation of those flagrant *Abuses* and *Corruptions*, which had almost overwhelm'd the Government, both in *Church* and *State*. I design to entertain the Reader this Week with some *Extracts* out
of

of that Book, and some *Observations* upon them, which I believe will not be thought altogether unseasonable.

There was, at that Time, in *France*, a certain Tax, called the *Paulette*, being an *annual Duty* paid to the King by all Persons, who enjoy'd any *Posts*, or *Employments* in the State. This was generally complain'd of by the People, as the Occasion of all their Misfortunes; the Source, from whence all the *Disorders* and *Abuses of Justice* were derived. They desired therefore that the *Venality of Offices* might be suppress'd, the *successive Inheritance* of them extinguish'd, and that They might be conferr'd *gratis* upon Men of *Abilities* and *Integrity*, whose *Merit* could not be called in Question by Envy itself.

As reasonable as these Complaints and Expectations appeared to be at first Sight, the *Cardinal* found it necessary to oppose them, and maintain the other Side of the Question; but he did it in a modest Way, by stating the Case fairly on both Sides, and explaining the Reasons, which preponderated in his Judgment.

He confess'd very frankly, that *Corruption* and *Abuse of Power* were come to such a Pitch, that it was impossible for them to go any farther. He likewise acknowledg'd that *Venality* and *Inheritance of Offices* was contrary to *Reason*, and all Rules of *Equity*; and that a Man must be blind, who did not heartily desire to have them suppress'd, if it could be supposed that *Merit* and *Virtue*, in such a Case, would be the only Recommendations and Titles to *Preferment*.

But then He took Notice, on the other Hand, that the Suppression of *this Traffick* would be inevitably attended with several *bad Consequences*, worse than the Disease itself; for as the Disposal of Offices would, in that Case, intirely depend on the Will and Pleasure of the *Prince*, it would follow that *Those*, who happened to be establish'd the most strongly in his Favour, would engross the Disposal of them to *Themselves*; since

since no Body can be ignorant *that the Artifices of Courtiers are more prevalent than Reason; and that Favour is stronger than Merit.*

He observ'd likewise, that as the Suppression of *Venality* might open a Door to *Virtue*, so it would certainly occasion *Factions* and *Intrigues*, and fill the Posts of Government with Men of low Extraction and mean Circumstances, whose Vanity would make them prefer the Splendor of a *Place at Court* (tho' Ruin attended it,) to an useful Vocation in *Trade*; and whose Necessities would tempt them to sacrifice the *Good of the Publick* to their *own Interest*.

Whereas, says He, the Continuance of this Practice will confine *Places* to Men of *Substance*, who are most likely to execute them worthily. Nay, He goes so far as to affirm, contrary to the general Opinion, that this *Venality* is a Benefit to the Publick; since the *Price*, which They pay for their Offices, is a *Plodge* for their *good Behavior*.

But what He insisted upon most was, that however mischievous and unjustifiable this *Practice* might be, it could not be abolish'd, at that Time, without the most imminent Danger to the *Government* itself; that the People had been long Strangers to such a rigid Course of *Virtue*; that *Venality* was grown an *Habit*, and become, in one Sense, an *useful Part of the Constitution*. In short, that Evils, which are establish'd by *publick Exigences*, and supported by *Reasons of State*, are to be reform'd only by *Time*; that it is necessary to reconcile the Minds of Men by Degrees to such a *Change*, and not run precipitately out of *one Extreme* into *another*.

Having thus summ'd up the Arguments on both Sides, as stated by this *great Author*, I beg Leave to make a few short Observations upon them.

What a deplorable Condition must any State or Kingdom be in, when *Venality*, *Corruption*, and *Abuse of Justice* are grown to such an Height, as to admit of

no Remedy; and what Punishment does *that Minister* deserve, who either first introduces such a vile Expedient of Government, or improves the Practice of it into a *national Habit*, and incorporates it with the *Constitution* of his Country in such a Manner, as to make all Attempts of *Reformation* dangerous and impracticable?

Of what a terrible Nature that political Disease *Corruption* is, and how virulently it affects every Part of the *Body politic*, when grown *habitual*, and work'd into our Mass of Blood, may be judg'd from the Case of *France*, now before us; for if a great Prince, possess'd of *absolute Power*, and assisted with one of the *ablest Ministers* that ever liv'd, would have found it dangerous to apply a Remedy to this contagious Distemper, though at the Expence of his *own Revenue*; how stubborn and inveterate, how incapable almost of any Cure must it be, when it hath equally spread itself amongst a *free People*, who are Themselves one Part of the *legislative Power*, and are able to maintain themselves in the Possession of their *favourite Vices* and *Corruptions*?

From hence We may likewise see of what little Consequence the just Complaints of the People too often are; for though this *mercenary Traffick of Places* was generally condemn'd in *France* (as the *Cardinal* informs us) and no Man, perhaps, thought fit to hazard his Character so far as to justify it *openly*, yet it was so firmly establish'd in the Hearts of many by *vicious Custom* and *self-interested Views*, that it was thought necessary to continue it. Instances of the same Nature might be produced in *other Countries*.

But it must be confess'd that there is a great Difference between *Venality of Offices* and *Venality of Persons in Office*. A Man may *buy a Place*, with no other View than getting a reputable Livelihood in the World, and an honest Intention of doing his Duty. *Venality*, in this Case, may not be attended with *Corruption*;

ruption; especially, if He does not give an *exorbitant Price* for it, which is always a strong Temptation to reimburse Himself by *exorbitant Gains*. But when a Man hath once suffer'd Himself to be *corrupted in his Office*, his Case admits of no Apology, or Amendment. What They call *Touching*, upon these Occasions, is like a Man's dealing with the *Devil*. He sells Himself, for Life, to *Vassalage* and *Prostitution*. The first *Bribe*, though it be but a Shilling, is the *Earnest* of his vile Bargain, and ties Him down to the Performance of it, without any Possibility of receding.

The greatest Misfortune, that can befall any Kingdom, is when Those at the Helm are *corrupt Themselves*; because it obliges them to make *Corruption* a Fashion for their own Security. The Infection is easily communicated to all Degrees of Men, from the *premier Minister* down to the *lowest Officer*, or *Scullion of State*, who unite together in a compact Body, and defend each other by a mutual Confederacy in Wickedness.

It is very observable, that though Cardinal Richieu found it necessary to defend *Venality of Offices* at the Juncture, when He wrote, He was far from justifying *Bribery* and *Corruption*, either in the *Legislature*, or *Courts of Justice*, and representing them, like some modern *Hirelings*, as *proper Expedients of Government*. No; He propos'd to redress the Grievances of the People, by reforming the Abuses, and Enormities of *Men in Authority*; for which Purpose He advis'd the King his Master to send *Commissioners* into all the Provinces, *to make Enquiry into the Conduct of the Officers of Justice and the Revenues; to see if the Taxes were rais'd according to the Law; whether the Receivers did not commit Injustice, by vexing the People; to discover the Manner, in which They exercis'd their Employments; to learn how the Nobility behaved Themselves; and to put a Stop to Disorders and Irregularities of all Kinds; especially to the Violences of Those*

who, being rich and powerful, oppress'd his Majesty's weak and indigent Subjects.

This was Advice worthy of a great, good, and honest Man. Alas! how few *Ministers* deserve this Character, by giving their Masters such Advice? They commonly endeavour to obstruct all *Examinations* of this Nature, and screen the *Offenders* from Justice; or, if the Cries of the People are sometimes too loud and general to be withstood, They give up two or three *little Rogues* and *Understrappers in Iniquity*, to pacify their Resentments for the present, and divert them from more *exalted Criminals*; but They dare not suffer the Wounds of their Country to be laid open and search'd to the Bottom, lest They should be found so dangerous as to require immediate Remedies and severe Operations.

A Man, who hath aggrandiz'd Himself, and engross'd the Power of a Nation into his Hands by *corrupt Methods*, can subsist only by *Corruption*. Take away *Corruption* and you take away his Support, the main Prop and Foundation of his Greatness; and the vast Superstructure, which He hath rais'd at the Expence of the Honour, Welfare and Prosperity of his Country, must of Course fall to the Ground.

It cannot be expected therefore that a *Minister*, of this Sort, will ever advise, or consent to any *Enquiries*, which He knows will so strongly affect *Himself*.

I have the Pleasure to conclude this Essay with observing, that nothing portends more Good to our Country, in its present Circumstances, than the late glorious Act for *preventing Bribery and Corruption*, and the Zeal of the *honourable Committee*, last Session, in enquiring into the *Abuses of one Branch of our Law*; which I hope will be follow'd with the same Vigour and Assiduity in *succeeding Sessions*. D.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

For the PUBLICK GOOD.

This is to give Notice that Mess. LYNN and COMPANY Silk-Mercers, having had the Honour to serve most of the Quality with their last Birth-day Suits, intend to continue the same Business, at their great Warehouse near St. James's; where Gentlemen and Ladies may be furnished, from Time to Time, with all Sorts of the richest and most fashionable French and other foreign Silks, for ready Money, at reasonable Rates; They having settled a Correspondence abroad for that Purpose.

N. B. *As the Design of this Undertaking is to relieve the Nobility and Gentry, of both Sexes, from the Impositions of common Mercers, and the vulgar Frippery of our own Manufacture, we doubt not that the Beaumonde will give it all suitable Encouragement.*



Nº 178. SATURDAY, *November 29, 1729.*

*Ut jugulent Hominem, surgunt de nocte Latrones;
Ut Teipsum serves, non EXFERGISCERIS? HOR.*



IS Majesty having issued his Royal Proclamation, for summoning the Parliament for the Dispatch of Business on *Tuesday* the 13th of *January* next, it cannot be improper to address the Members, at this Time, in a pathetick Manner; exciting them to pay a strict Obedience to his Majesty's Commands; exhorting them to a diligent Attendance on their

their Duty; and endeavouring to urge them, by all virtuous Motives, to be careful of the great Trust, that is reposed in them.

A *Member of Parliament* is, without all Doubt, a Man of as much Consequence as any Subject in the Kingdom. He is placed in the highest Station, which his Country hath in its Disposal, and invested with the greatest Trust the People can possibly bestow upon Him. He has the Properties, the Liberties, nay, the very Lives of Those, who chose Him, in his Hands; and what is more, He is accountable to no Man for what He does. Thus invested with almost absolute Power, how circumspect, how cautious should He be of acting in any Manner unworthy of this great Trust; a Trust, which is by much the more sacred, because *Those*, who gave it, have divested themselves of the Power of calling Him to Account, for any *Neglect*, or *Non-Performance* of his Duty in it?

Every *Member* therefore lies under an indispensable Obligation of *attending* diligently in his Post. He must be ready, at all Times, to maintain the Rights, preserve the Freedom, and advance the Interest of *Those*, who chose Him; of the *House*, of which He is a Member; and of his *Country* in general; and postpone all Considerations whatever for the *publick Benefit*.

In this *great Council of the Nation*, every Man stands upon an *equal Foot*; and no Member is *more considerable*, or *greater* than another, but as He distinguishes Himself by his *Abilities*, or *Endeavours*, to serve his King and his Country. It is Matter of Astonishment to me, that, with all these Advantages and Opportunities of doing Good to Themselves and their Country, every Member does not endeavour to exert himself to the utmost; and yet such Diffidence there hath been in some, and so much Indolence in others, that few have endeavoured to put themselves forward in the Cause of their Country; and many have entirely neglected

it, by absenting themselves sometimes for a whole Session together.

I have known some, in former *Parliaments*, (may it never be the Case again!) who, when once they were chosen Members, never thought of giving themselves the Trouble of coming up to attend their Duty in the House; and provided they had the Privilege of *franking Letters*, they were not under the least Concern what became of the Publick.

With all such as are thus *criminally indolent*, I would expostulate in the following Manner.

Do you, I would ask every Gentleman, seek being a Member of Parliament as an *Advantage*; or do you undertake it as an *honourable Burthen*? What it formerly was, when *Corruption* was unknown, is manifest from the *Wages*, which were always allow'd the Members.

Do you mean your own *personal Good*; or do you hope to become serviceable to the *Publick*? Every Man, who is not entirely abandon'd in his Principles, will readily answer me, that He scorns all *private Views*, and hath the Interest of his *Country* only at Heart. Why then do you not *attend* where your Duty calls you; where you may be of Service, and where the great Affairs of your Country are transacted? Consider what important Matters may very probably be, this Session, the Subject of your Deliberations.

Tho' the making of *Peace* is acknowledged to be within the *Prerogative* of the Crown, yet it will most certainly be brought before you for your Approbation; which *Ministers* always esteem to be some kind of Security to them. And yet we know the *present Ministers* impeached a former *Administration* on Account of a *Peace*, which had been approv'd of, and sanctified by *Parliament*; but This is only by the way.

As you judg'd it right to examine, last Year, into the Reasons why the *Fleet of England* was suffer'd to

rot, and directed to remain *unactive* before the *Bastimentos*; so now you will certainly expect some Reasons for its having lain so long, in all Appearance *useless*, and at so vast an Expence, in our own Harbours. This at present puzzles all Mankind, and hath been the Occasion of much Complaint *without Doors*; but we may rest assured that a satisfactory Account will be given of it to the *House*; and I make no Question that our Conduct in this Particular will appear also to be *just, prudent and necessary*.

You will likewise very probably have under your Consideration how to retrieve, and in what Manner to settle the *Commerce* of the Nation.

That it has been, for many Years, in a *declining and languishing* Condition every Body is sensible, and feels too severely by the Effects. You may possibly again hear the *Merchants*, and be informed from them what they apprehend necessary to be done in a *legislative* Way, for putting our *Trade* upon a good and lasting Foundation. This, for aught I know, may be done by easing it from some of those *heavy Duties and Burthens*, which oppress it the most grievously at present, and which are the Causes that *other People* can afford to under-sell us, even in our *own Manufactures*. It may be likewise done, by giving due Encouragement to some *new Branches of Trade*, perceiving the Declension, and perhaps the Impossibility of supporting some of the *old Ones*.

But there is one Thing, I am sure, above all necessary; and That is, the making some good and effectual Laws for restraining of *Luxury*; which, if not speedily prevented, must infallibly ruin this Kingdom. It is now spread amongst all Degrees of People. It is not only the *Man of Quality*, the *Gentleman*, and the *Merchant*, that is infected; but, from the Example of their Superiors, *Luxury* is now got even behind *Counters*, among *Shop-Keepers* and their *Apprentices*.

I am very apprehensive, (if we could be truly inform'd) that this *prevailing Vice* has brought the *Balance of Trade*, upon the whole, to be against us. What a miserable Condition must we be then in, when *Trade*, which should be our *Support*, becomes an Instrument of our *Destruction*? The *Ballance* of it, we all know, must be answer'd in *Bullion*. *Luxury* therefore, and the great Expences we are at *abroad*, drain us of our *Specie*; which would certainly be more sensibly felt, at present, than it is, was it not for that *fictitious Wealth* we have amongst us of *Paper Credit*.

When These are the Topicks, which you may probably enter upon; when Points of this Consequence may perhaps come before you; can you have so little publick Spirit in you, as to hesitate one Moment whether you shall come up to Town this Winter, or not? You can have no just, or lawful Excuse, but Want of *Health*. Your Affairs, and every one that belongs to you, are by the *Privilege* of the House safely secured. How then can you look your Countrymen and Those, who have chosen you, in the Face, when a *Point of Consequence* may be lost, perhaps, for Want of your *single Vote*? Sure, if you do not attend your Duty in Parliament, you must hide yourself in some obscure Corner. To shew yourself in *one Place*, when every one knows that your Duty calls you to *another*, is highly scandalous; and, if you live where you are *chosen*, you are daily insulting your *Electors*, by shewing them how much you neglect and despise *their Service*.

If Affairs should ever be conducted in Parliament in such a Manner as to turn to the *Detriment of your Country*; have you not Reason to be ashamed that you did not do whatever lay in your Power to prevent it? Should they be *well administr'd*, for the *Honour and Advantage of the Kingdom*; are you not sensibly griev'd that you, who ought to have been concern'd in it, can pretend to no share of the Reputation of it?

Is there any Thing more infamous, even in private Life, than to accept a Trust, promising to be careful in it, and afterwards never to do any one single Act in Execution of it? You are like an *Officer* soliciting for Preferment, and when any Danger appears, or his Country wants his Service, basely quits his Colours, and deserts from his Duty.

What shall I say to rouse and animate you in your Country's Cause? How shall I warm you with a right Spirit and a becoming Zeal? If your own Safety, your own Property, your own Prosperity will not affect you; is the Welfare and Happiness of Millions of no Moment to you? On you it may depend what *Land-Forces* shall be kept standing within these Kingdoms another Year, and in *what Manner* They shall be reduced. On you it may depend whether the Charge of *twelve thousand Hessians, five thousand Wolfenbuttel Troops*, besides many Subsidies to *other Princes*, shall be still continued upon the People. On you it may depend what *Security* we are to accept for the Possession of those *important Fortresses*, which have been formerly yielded to us. On you it may depend whether a *real and immediate Satisfaction* shall be obtain'd for the Losses of our *injur'd Merchants*; or whether *Time* and *Commissaries* shall be suffer'd to liquidate them away to nothing.

These Points and many more, even of a yet *higher Nature*, may possibly come under your Deliberation. Can you then be framing mean and poor Excuses against a *Call of the House*, when it shall be order'd; and at the same Time be deaf to the Calls of Honour and of your Country? If you will not, through vile Indolence, having no better Reason, be active and diligent *your self* in your Country's Cause; why do you not, if you have the sole Interest in your Corporation, bring in some *other Person* of a less truant Disposition, who might be desirous and willing to exert himself with more Vigour? Consider that you do a double Mischief.

You,

You, who have the *Power* of doing Good, from Indolence, want the *Inclination*; and at the same Time Those, who might have the *Inclination*, are by you prevented from having the *Power* of doing it. The Body of the *Senate*, like the natural Body, is never perfect for Action, when deprived of any of its *Members*; and yet capable of acting, though it wants, perhaps, a *Finger*, an *Arm*, or *two or three Limbs*.

If a Man did but seriously consider what honest Comforts there are in assiduously attending his Duty in the *House*, He would want no *lucrative Incitements* to engage him to it. What a Satisfaction must it be to a virtuous Mind, to think that he hath it in his *Power* to do Good to ten thousands at one Time? What an exquisite Pleasure must it afford, to think of releasing from Misery, and the cruellest Confinement, Numbers of indigent and unfortunate Persons, by a general Act for the Relief of *insolvent Debtors*.

But let us turn the Tables, and put it in the worst Light. I will suppose that you are of a different Principle from the *Party*, that prevails in the House; and that you see no Probability, or Prospect, of carrying any Question agreeable to your Opinion. *This*, you say, discourages you from giving your *Attendance*; but will *This* absolve you from your Duty, and the Ties of Honour and Conscience? Will *This* release you from the Obligations you are under to *Those*, who chose you; or to *Those*, who are desirous of acting with you? May you not, by *diligent and constant Attendance*, have a Chance of now and then carrying a Point? May you not, by *Accident*, and the *Non-Attendance of others*, have an Opportunity of serving a Friend in a *just Cause*, or in an *Election*, if you can suppose that *Interest*, or *Faction*, might otherwise make Him suffer?

Let us suppose it possible that a *few Gentlemen*, zealously concern'd for the Preservation of the Constitution,

stitution, and the Welfare of their Country, should labour with indefatigable Pains and Industry, through many tedious Days of a long Session, without Effect and to no Purpose; every Thing being by the Force of *Party-Prejudice*. or some *stronger Influence*, carried against them. This, no Doubt, is extremely disheartening; but if, at Length, by their *unwearied Attendance*, and a *strict Secrecy*, they should be able to carry a *Bill to prevent such Mischief* for the future; what Transports must they feel? What Joy must fill their Hearts? Would not such an *Incident* make them ample Amends for all their Fatigues? Would not *This* be a full Reward for all their Care and Pains?

I have, in *former Parliaments*, known some of the *rural Esquires* the oddest and most unaccountable Creatures breathing. They will sit *at home*, or in their country *Coffee-houses*, railing at *Courtiers*; complaining of the Severity of *Taxes*; exclaiming against the Oppression of so large an *Army*, and giving away *Money without Account*; in short, upbraiding the *Government*, and the *general Administration of publick Affairs* in all its Parts; and yet would they not stir one Step, nor say *one Syllable* (nothing but a *Mono-syllable* being expected from them) to remedy any of the Mischief they so loudly complain'd of; nor will they give their *Attendance*, to help and assist *others* that would attempt it.

This brings to my Mind a Story I have formerly heard of *two Highwaymen*, who attacked a Stage-Coach; in which there was an *Officer*, *two Justices of the Peace*, and a *Clergyman*. When the Rogues came up to the Coach, the *Officer* leap'd out, and put himself upon his Defence; the rest of the Company sat still; and whilst the *Officer* was bravely defending himself, they were the whole Time scolding bitterly and calling all Sorts of Names. They cry'd 'twas a Shame such lusty Fellows, who might get an honest Livelihood by Work, should turn *Highwaymen*, and plunder his Majesty's

jeſty's Liege Subjects. If they had Courage, why did they not go into the *Army*, and ſerve where their Courage might be of Uſe? In ſhort, the *Juſtices* told them they would come to be *hang'd*; and the *Parſon* aſſur'd them they would certainly be *damned*. The *Officer*, having fired both his Piſtols, was at Length overpowered; upon which he reproach'd his *Fellow-Travellers* for their Cowardice; telling them, if they had aſſiſted him whilſt he was fighting, inſtead of ſitting ſtill, and like old Women calling Names only, they might have perhaps taken the Rogues; or at leaſt have prevented the Robbery. The Moral of This is, if Gentlemen would conſtantly attend their Duty, and be a little active, many Things might be prevented, which it is in vain to ſit ſtill and grumble at only.

I will ſuppoſe the *Absenters* ſhould not be ſufficient in Number to make up a *Majority*. However, might it not bring *Diviſions* to be ſomething nearer? If there was the leaſt Tendency, in ſome few Points, to an *Equality* only of Numbers; would it not make a *Ministry* more careful what they undertook, or attempted? Would it not prevent them from hazarding many a *Jobb*, which theſe *Absenters* encourage them to undertake? We have heard of *Minorities*, that have fought themſelves up to be a *Majority*; and we all know that when the Numbers are pretty near a *Par*, the *Ministry* (eſpecially if they are much *diſliked*) loſe Ground daily, and are in Danger of being ſoon defeated and overturn'd. You therefore, by *abſenting* your ſelf, do what in you lies to eſtabliſh and ſecure that very *Ministry* you are continually railing againſt. It is not their *false Friends*, who *vote conſtantly with them*, though they wiſh them *hang'd*, that are their Support; but it is their *indolent Enemies*, who are *abſent* when they ſhould *vote againſt them*.

There are another Set of People, whom I have known alſo in former *Parliaments*; who would fain be thought *Country Gentlemen*; and yet were never

present at any great Question in their Lives. These are your *sham-Patriots*; who have not Resolution enough to *oppose* a Thing, because 'tis *wrong*; nor Honesty enough to be *for* it, because 'tis *right*; and therefore, in all *great Points*, keep out of the way. They would willingly, if they could, be thought honest Fellows on both Sides. They always talk against every *unpopular Thing*, when it is *over*; but never *vote against it*, when it is *depending*; and by these Means they hope to maintain their Characters in the *Country*, without offending the *Ministers in Town*. 'Tis possible they may secretly get a Squeeze by the Hand, as they stand *behind the Chair*; or now and then have Interest enough to recommend a *Tide-Waiter*, or an *Excise-Man*. But let me tell these *pitiful Sneakers*, these *half-pac'd lukewarm Politicians*, that they are known and despised on all Sides; often justly suspected of *Corruption*; and at best are but *inglorious Neuters*.

Now the Act is passed for *preventing CORRUPTION in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament*, no Man can expect to be chosen, who is not *popular in his Country*, or who does not take Care to recommend Himself by *good and virtuous Actions*. That the People may be informed of *This*, and be able to judge of the Conduct of *these Members*, who knows but that, upon all great Occasions, *Lists* may be made, shewing how every individual Member *voted* in the Question, and who were the *Absenters*? *They*, whose Names shall be found in this *last List*, will, I am persuaded, be laid aside with *Contempt and Ignominy*, to whatever Place they may pretend to offer their Services again.

Such *Members*, as never appear in the House but upon a *Call*, are like *Soldiers*, who are listed only to make their Appearance upon a *Muster*; and may properly enough be distinguish'd by the military Cant Name of a *FAGGOT*. If these *Faggots of the House* are to be
shamed

shamed into a Sense of their Duty, by having a Name of Reproach fixed upon them, it will be well ; but if not, I hope in all *ensuing Elections*, every County, Corporation and Borough in *England* will consider whether it can possibly be either for their *Interest*, or their *Honour*, to be represented by a *FAGGOT*.

C.



N^o 179. SATURDAY, *December 6, 1729.*



HERE is no great Quality, for which *some Gentlemen* have been more celebrated by their *Advocates and Encomiasts* in ordinary, than That of *Lenity and Forbearance* towards Those, who are call'd *Libellers*; in whose Number I have long had the Honour to be rank'd, for endeavouring to do my King and my Country all the Service, that lay in my Power. This Topick hath constantly made a Part of their Panegyricks. We have been told, over and over again, that no *Men in Power* were ever so *indulgent* and even *passive* under repeated *Insults and Provocations*, as our present, excellent *Ministers* ; that They have suffer'd a *Paper* to pass with *Impunity*, which They could easily crush at *Pleasure* ; but They were so very tender of exercising their Power, that They chose to suffer the *grossest Obloquy and Slander*, rather than take any *Measures*, which might prejudice the Cause of *LIBERTY* in general. One of these *Writers* was pleas'd, t'other Day, to demand our *Justice in Behalf* of that honourable Person, who, with the most temperate Fortitude, sustain'd the Shocks and defy'd the Power of charging Hosts of daring Enemies ;

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who

who suffer'd his own Fame to lie open to their Malice, and his Person to their Insults, rather than He would hurt our Liberties.

Nay, some of them have gone so far as to reproach and even arraign *these Gentlemen of Breach of Duty* for not demolishing us at once, without any *Forms of Law, or Justice*; for That is the only rational Construction I can put upon their Words.

I formerly took some Notice of this *false, satirical Eulogium*, in my Letter to Colonel PLATTOON, and thought myself bound in Justice to vindicate our *Ministers* from this insolent Charge of *Passiveness*, (towards U S at least) by observing that They had taken all *legal Methods* to *punish and suppress* us; that *These* were the *only Methods*, which our Constitution, at present, would allow them to take; and I might have added, that it is not in the Power even of the *King himself* (as, I am sure, it is not in his Inclination) to suppress the *Liberty of Writing*, or to punish any Author, but by the *ordinary Forms of Law*.

I thought such a general Vindication of the *Ministry* sufficient at that Time; but the frequent Repetition of *this Charge* obliges me to be somewhat more particular; though I am far from designing to deny their *Lenity*, and should be very unwilling to rob any *Gentleman* of the Satisfaction, which he may possibly receive from *such Applauses*. I must however call upon the World to judge whether *Warrants for seizing Persons and Papers, without Distinction, and even breaking Locks, in Case of refusal to open them; whether strict Examinations, Commitments and Confinement, without Liberty of writing, or speaking to any Friends in private; whether putting us to the Trouble of running about Town for Bail, upon every taking up, and continuing us, upon divers Recognizances (to a very great Sum) for almost three Years together; whether the Expence of several Tryals, and of preparing for several others, which is near the same; not to say any Thing*

Thing of intimidating *Booksellers, Printers and Publishers*, by these Means, and endeavouring to stop the Propagation of our Papers, by a particular Prohibition at the *Post-Office*; I say, the World must judge whether such *Methods of Proceeding* are properly Marks of a *passive* Disposition, or can be justly made an Handle of Complaint against *Ministers*, who are known to have us'd all these *Methods*.

I do not mention these Facts as *Hardships*, or Instances of *Severity*; but only to justify some *Gentlemen* from an Aspersion, which hath been cast upon them. From the Court in *Westminster-Hall* we have hitherto experienced great *Candour*; and we do not accuse any other Court of Rigour. It is the Part of Women and Children only to whine and complain of *Grievances*, either *real* or *suppos'd*. It becomes a Man either to remove the *Occasion of Offence*, if He thinks it just; or to suffer with Courage and Magnanimity in what his Conscience tells him is an *honest Cause*.

For my own Part, as I know my *Design* in this Undertaking to have been upright, so, upon a Review of what I have written, I cannot be induced to alter my Opinion. I will not indeed pretend to justify every Expression, which hath been unwarily transcribed from *other Papers*; or which through an Hurry of Writing hath dropt from my Pen, or the Provocation of Adversaries may have drawn from it. This is more perhaps than any *Writer* was ever able to do, for so long a Time together. But I think that, in general, I have deserv'd well of my Country for my Endeavours to serve it; and, I hope, not always without Effect. The Support of *Trade*, in Opposition to *exclusive Companies* and *Monopolies*; the maintaining the Honour of our Country and the Cause of our *injured Merchants* from the *Insults* and *Depredations* of our Enemies; the Preservation of *Gibraltar* and *PortMahon* from any *future Claims, Pretensions, or Chicane* of the *Spaniards* or *others*; the *Freedom of Parliament*

and of the *Members of Parliament* from *unwarrantable Artifices and Influence*; the Mischiefs of *Stockjobbing, Corruption* and other Arts of *bad Ministers*, as well as the Follies of *weak, and ignorant Ones*; the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, contrary to a solemn Treaty; the Vindication of the *British Flag*, as an antient, undoubted Right of this Kingdom; the Assertion of *Revolution Principles* upon all Occasions, and of the *present Establishment* in his Majesty's most illustrious House, founded on *those Principles*; These, I say, are the *general Topics*, which we have discuss'd in the Course of these Papers, and what we think ourselves able to justify before God and the whole World.

But our Misfortune is, that *some Gentlemen* are of another Opinion; and, having construed our Writings in a *bad Sense*, think it incumbent upon them to prosecute us for them. They are therefore so far from being *passive* (as these *flattering Defamers* alledge) that they have done what they may think *their Duty* to the utmost, as We have done what we thought *ours*. The *publick Good* is equally pretended on *both Sides*; and may, perhaps, equally be the Motive to our Proceedings. The Cause is still depending between us; and we must submit to the Issue of it. We appeal not to the Passions either of our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*; but put our whole Confidence in the Judgment of our *Fellow Countrymen* and the *Laws of our Country*.

In the mean Time, as most *Prosecutions* of this Nature are supported by what the *Lawyers* call an *Innuendo*, I must beg Leave to trouble the Reader with some Thoughts on *that Subject*.

These *Innuendos* (as they are call'd) have been often made use of, in *Crown Prosecutions*, to fix a *criminal Meaning* upon Words and Expressions, which are either *dubious*, or naturally import an *innocent Meaning*. Thus if an Author thinks proper, for general Instruction, to draw the Character of *Sejanus*, *Wolsey*, or any other *wicked Minister* of Antiquity, He runs the hazard

zard of having it call'd a *Parallel* and apply'd, by an *Innuendo*, to some *particular Minister* of the present Age. His Case is much the same if he deals in *Allegory*, *Fable* or *Irony*, which are subject to the same Kind of Interpretation; and even *Panegyrick* itself may be construed, by this Method, into *Scandal*, and involve Him in the Penalties of a *seditious Libeller*.

This is, in Effect, to set up a Court of Inquisition over a Man's *Thoughts*, and to punish Him for *criminal Intentions*, which perhaps never enter'd into his Heart; for if his Words, in their first and most obvious Signification, bear an *inoffensive Meaning*, how can any conscientious Man take upon Him to say that he had any *other Meaning*; or resort to a *left natural Construction*, in order to find Him *guilty*? Nay, if the Words will *equally* bear an *innocent* and a *criminal* Meaning, the most *favourable* is always the most *just*; especially in a Court of Judicature.

It is true, indeed, that artful, ill-disposed Writers do often make use of ambiguous Expressions for *bad Ends*, and to screen themselves from Punishment; but it is likewise true that *such Expressions* are sometimes necessary to serve *good Purposes*, and are very often used *inadvertently*, and with *no Design*; so that if these *forced Innuendos* are allow'd, a *well-designing*, or *injudicious Writer* may suffer Punishment without deserving it, contrary to Equity and natural Justice.

But as I may be thought to have too much Concern myself in *this Subject*, I chuse to finish it with some Quotations from other Writers, of much greater Authority than any Words of my own.

One of the excellent Authors of CATO's *Letters* observes very justly, that "there are so many *Equivoques* in Language, so many *Sneers* in Expression, which naturally carry *one Meaning*, but yet may intend *another*, that it is impossible by any fix'd and stated Rules to determine the *Intention*, and punish all, who deserve to be punished. But to get rid of

“ this *Inconvenience*, at the Expence of giving any
 “ Man, or Number of Men, a *discretionary Power* to
 “ judge another's Intentions to be criminal, when his
 “ Words do not plainly denote Him to be so, is sub-
 “ verting all *Liberty*, and subjecting every Man to the
 “ Caprices, and arbitrary, wild Will of *Those in Power*.
 “ A *Text of Scripture* cannot be quoted, without be-
 “ ing said to reflect on *Those*, who break it; nor the
 “ ten *Commandments* read, without abusing all *Princes*
 “ and *great Men*, who often act against them all.

“ Therefore, I must beg Leave to think that it is a
 “ strange Assertion, which, as I have heard, hath
 “ been advanced by Lawyers in *Westminster-Hall*, viz.
 “ that it is an Absurdity to affirm, that a *Judge* and
 “ *Fury* are the only Persons in England, who are not
 “ to understand an *Author's Meaning*; which, I think,
 “ may be true in many Instances, when they act
 “ JUDICIALLY, and the Words He uses, candidly con-
 “ strued, do not import *that Meaning*.”

That inimitable Writer, the DRAPIER of Dublin,
 informs us, that “ Sir William Scroggs was the first,
 “ who introduced that commendable *Acuteness* into
 “ the Courts of Judicature. When Pamphlets, un-
 “ pleasing to the Ministry, were presented as *Libels*, He
 “ would order the offensive Paragraphs to be read
 “ before Him, and said it was strange that the *Judges*
 “ and *Lawyers* of the *King's-Bench* should be duller
 “ than all the People of England; and He was often
 “ so very happy in applying the initial Letters of
 “ Names, and expounding *dubious Hints* (the two
 “ common Expedients of Writers of that Class for
 “ escaping the Law) that He discovered *much more*
 “ than ever the Authors intended, as many of them,
 “ or their Printers, found to their Cost—How far
 “ this Practice hath been imitated by his Successors,
 “ or strained upon Occasion, is out of my Knowledge.”

The

The last Authority I shall mention, is That of the late Sir Richard Steele, who speaks as follows, upon the same Subject, in his own Justification. " Upon the whole Matter, I do humbly conceive that no Words, which I have made use of, can be censured as criminal, in the candid and natural Interpretation of them, and can only be construed as such by distant Implications and far-fetch'd Innuendos. I shall therefore beg Leave to produce the Authority of a very great Man, with Reference to Accusations of this Nature; since it is impossible for me to express my self with so much Judgment and Learning upon this Subject, as I find it already done to my Hand. The Passages I now mention are in the Speech of the now Lord Chancellor of England, (the Lord HARCOURT) as I find them in Dr. Sacheverell's Tryal, in the following Words.

" My Lords, if there be a double Sense, in either of which the Words are equally capable of being understood; if in one Sense the Doctor's Assertion be undeniably clear; but in the other some Doubt might arise, whether his Words be criminal or not; the Law of England is more merciful than to make any Man a Criminal, by construing his Words, against the natural Import of them, in the worst Sense. This is the great Justice and Clemency of our Law in every Man's Case.

And a little lower.

" My Lords, if the Manner of this solemn Prosecution has not alter'd the Nature of Things, I hope I may insist, (without putting in a Claim of Right, in Behalf of all the factious and seditious People in the Kingdom, to revile the Government at Pleasure,) that by the happy Constitution, under which we live, a Subject of England, is not to be made criminal by a labour'd Construction of doubtful Words; or, when that cannot serve, by departing from his Words, and resorting to his Meaning. Too many Instances there
" were

" *were of this Nature*, before the late happy Revolution; *but That put an End* to such arbitrary Constructions."

I can add nothing to these great Authorities, but my Wishes, that all *English Furies* will, notwithstanding any Suggestions to the contrary, have a due Regard to them, and not suffer themselves to be made the Instruments of punishing any Fellow-Subject for dark, doubtful and equivocal Expressions, which can be construed in an *innocent Sense*; especially if the *Person accus'd* appears to be an *honest Man*; well affected to the *Constitution*; and one, who hath made it his Endeavour to *serve his Country*; for it is certainly as unjust to *wrest a Man's Words*, as to *torture his Body*, into a Confession of Guilt.

D.

N. B. *Since the foregoing went to the Press, Mr. Franklin hath been brought upon his Tryal, and honourably acquitted by his Countrymen, the JURY.*



N^o 180. SATURDAY, *December 13, 1729.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



Have been often surpriz'd to find the Admirers and Dependants of *certain great Men* declaim so furiously, both in their Writings and private Conversation, against your Paper. If their *Patrons* and *Themselves* too did not pretend to favour the Interests of *Liberty*; if they did not assume and endeavour to monopolize

nopolize to themselves the Name of *Whigs*, there would be nothing astonishing in such Conduct. The Tools of a *Tory* Administration, of a *High-Church* Party, have been often branded for their Doctrine of *passive Obedience*, and for preaching up an unlimited Loyalty to *Ministers*, as well as *Princes*; tho' all Men of Sense, even of *that Party*, disclaim any such Principles. But for Gentlemen, who affect the Reputation of having a Regard for the *Rights* of their Fellow-Subjects, and give out that they are of *Revolution Principles*, to condemn an Author, with so much Zeal, purely because he differs in Opinion from the Persons in *public Trust*; because he takes the honest Liberty to censure such of their Actions as He judges to be against the Interest and Honour of his Country, is a barefac'd Contradiction, and a notorious Insult upon the common Sense of Mankind. As *Men in Power* never fail to find a Set of abandon'd Slaves, who are always ready to extol the vilest of their Proceedings; so it always has, and always will be the Practice of the *honest, free and independent* Part of the Nation, to keep a strict Eye over *Ministers*, and narrowly to observe all the Motions of Those, who, under the *King*, are intrusted with the *executive Power*. *Authority* is a bewitching, enchanting Thing; and is apt to make Those, who are possessed of it, giddy and wanton. It makes strange Discoveries of Persons, and Alterations too, though seldom for the better. Men, who have acted a fine Part in private Life, and establish'd a Character of *Justice* and *Uprightness*, have, when advanced to the chief Stations, frequently shewn themselves to be the very Reverse of what they were once esteem'd; and as the Fate of Millions depends upon their Conduct, nothing is more laudable than to expose them, when they do amiss.

A *good* and *honest Minister* will never be displeas'd with this necessary Freedom; because, conscious of his own Integrity, he knows the Event of the Scrutiny

tiny must be favourable to him ; and that, though his *Merit* may be eclipsed for a little time, it cannot be quite and for ever obscur'd. For the same Reason, a *wicked and corrupt Minister* will be perpetually uneasy, and wincing upon the slightest Hint at his *Blunders* and *Iniquities*. But what is it in your *Lucubrations*, that incenses and alarms *these Gentlemen* so much ? I have read most of your Papers, and can find nothing but Discourses against *Bribery* and *Corruption* ; some Representations of *confessed Frauds* in the Management of the publick Companies ; Complaints of *encreasing Luxury* and *decreasing Trade* ; Pity and Compassion to our *Merchants* and *Sailors*, who have been plunder'd and murder'd in such great Numbers in the *West-Indies* ; a generous Concern for the *Insults* and *Disgraces* we have prudently thought fit to suffer for some Time past, and a Jealousy of the *growing Power* of *France*. These, I think, are the most common Topicks of your *Paper* ; and does not the whole Nation, except a few, perhaps, who find their Account in them, talk loudly on the *same Subject* ? Surely you are the first Man, who ever was reckoned an *Enemy* to his Country, or abus'd by *Whigs*, for writing in this Manner. I suppose, Sir, you are convinc'd, by this Time, that I am really what these Gentlemen only pretend to be ; that is, I am for being govern'd by the *same Principles* ; for keeping up the *same Practices* in all Reigns, and under every Administration ; and not for being carried away by *Sounds* and *Names*, when the *Things* that were originally meant by them are dropp'd in so open and undisguis'd a Manner.

But though I am thus ready to do you Justice, upon every Occasion, you are not to expect, Mr. D'Anvers, that I am to pin my Faith on your Sleeve, or implicitly believe whatever you shall advance in *Politicks*. As I have declar'd against going blindfold into all the Views and Designs of Men in *publick Posts*, far
less

less, can I ever resign my Understanding to the Dictates of any *private Person*; for as an immoderate Desire of *Gain, Ambition*, and a Lust of *Power* may, in many Cases, seduce the *former*; so the *latter* may be often misled by *Resentment, personal Quarrels*, or *Disappointments*; and though an Opposition to a *wicked Administration* may do a great Deal of *Good*; yet this Opposition may sometimes proceed from *Motives* no Ways laudable. It is no Wonder that your *Adversaries* have endeavour'd, with great Vehemence and all the little Address they are Masters of, to fix this odious Charge upon you. It is an Accusation, which requires no deep Reach of Thought; a *Common-place Reproach*, which has in all Ages been applied to *brave Men*, who have generously refus'd a blind Submission to the Measures of their Superiors, when destructive to the Community; and since it has not as yet been in the Power of any of these Gentlemen, by the least Shadow of Proof, to demonstrate that This is the Case with you, no Doubt you despise all such invidious Reflections. But I am of Opinion that you have, at this Time, an Opportunity of convincing the whole Nation, that your *weekly Labours*, for several Years past, have been entirely calculated for the *publick Good*, and not in the least owing to any *private, selfish Views*. The *Treaty* lately sign'd at *Seville* does, I think, afford you this happy Occasion. As the Articles of this *Treaty* are still kept secret, it confirm'd my good Opinion of your Impartiality, that you have hitherto said nothing on that Head; and have not attempted, as your Enemies industriously gave out, to decry it right or wrong; nor blindly, applauded it, without knowing any Thing of the Conditions, like the wise Managers of a *certain great Company*.

I hope to see the same just and equitable Spirit run through your *future Papers*, when the *Articles* are publish'd. After the repeated Assurances we have re-

ceived from some great Men, of *known Fraternity*, we can have no Reason to doubt that it is a *glorious* and *happy* PEACE; and I hope you, in particular, Mr. D'Auvers, will leave nothing undone, by which you may testify the Sincerity of your Joy upon the Nation's obtaining *so valuable a Blessing*, for which we have been labouring so long. Nay, I think in common Justice you ought to go a Step farther; and as you have formerly found Fault, you ought *now* to celebrate and commend the Abilities of *those great Men*, who have had the Management of this important Affair; and who by their Skill and Address have brought it to so happy an Issue. I know it is a common Objection of the *Malecontents*, that all our late *Difficulties* have been owing to the Measures of *those Gentlemen*; but not to enter into any Dispute on this Subject, I think we ought to rejoice and applaud their Conduct, if by *this Peace* We have actually got rid of *those Difficulties* with Honour, by whomsoever occasion'd; if our *Possessions* abroad are confirm'd to us in so clear and explicit a Manner, as to prevent all Quibbles and Disputes for the future; if by it we have found out a quick and expeditious Method of repairing the unparallel'd Losses of our *Merchants* in *America*, especially for *these five last Years*, and of recovering the *Ships* and *Cargoes* taken by the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, while our *Fleet* was in the *Mediterranean*, before and during the Siege of *Gibraltar*; for I don't remember any taken since in *Europe*; if our *Trade* will be put on a more advantageous Footing than ever it was before; if it will set us in a Capacity to discharge the *Hessian* and *other foreign Troops* in our Pay, and to reduce our *Expences* in such a Manner, as to take off some Part of the *Land-Tax*, without making any *other Provisions* necessary, which in reality may amount to the same Thing; in short, to use the elegant Phrase of a * certain Advocate for the *Ministry*,
 " if

* Vide the London Journal, November 29.

" if it appears that there has been an extraordinary
 " Juncture of Affairs in *Europe*, and many *Wheels of*
 " *State* to conduct, and they are happily conducted
 " without breaking any of them; and by that sort of
 " Judgment too, which dwells only in *great Minds*,
 " who are able to judge between *Things extraordi-*
 " *nary* and *Things impossible*. To bring all the Powers
 " of *Europe* so unhappily disjointed, to acquiesce in
 " *one general Rule for preserving the Peace*; and to
 " do This without striking a Blow was, you must
 " own, thought impossible; but to such *wise Men*,
 " who can subject their Passions to the Reason of
 " Things, nothing is so; and if it is now done, cer-
 " tainly *our Happiness is their Glory*."

If Things are in so fine a Situation, I dare promise for you, that the same Reasons, which induc'd you formerly to *blame*, will now engage you to raise *Monuments of Honour* to Gentlemen, who have so industriously laboured for the *publick Welfare*; who, by an admirable Foresight, have so *patiently submitted* to the Caprices of our Enemies for *these three last Years*, on purpose to bring Affairs to this *happy Period*; and have, by surprizing Dexterity, brought so much Good out of *numberless Calamities*.

If I have formed a right Notion of you from your *Writings*, I am positive you will be ready to confess your self in the Wrong, and proud of retracting whatever you have said against such *illustrious Patriots*, whose *superior Qualities* and *masterly Politicks* have thus wonderfully retrieved the *Interests* and *Reputation* of their Country. By such a Behaviour as This, you will compel the most clamorous of your *Antagonists* to acknowledge that tho' you was *mistaken*, you *meant well*; that your *Fears* and *Jealousies* proceeded from an *honest Principle*; and that you never was an Enemy to the *Gentlemen in Power*, any farther than as they might appear to you to be Enemies of their Country.

N^o 181. SATURDAY, *December 20, 1729.*

We shall oblige our Readers, this Week, with a little Miscellany of Letters from our Correspondents upon several Occasions, which we hope will prove agreeable and entertaining.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



Am a Country Gentleman. My Estate is considerable. Our Family has, for some Ages, made a Figure in the Country where I live; and almost all my Ancestors have, from Time to Time, been Justices of the *Quorum*, as we call it. We have been reckoned Men of plain and useful Understandings; and accordingly we have frequently made up the *Differences* among our Neighbours, as often as we were made *Referees* in their Quarrels. It is true, I did some time since refuse to be *Arbitrator* in a Case, where it must have turned to the Advantage of *Me* and *my Family*; but, Sir, what I would now advise with you upon is, perhaps, as odd an Affair as ever happened. I was some time since persuaded to take an expensive Journey *cross the Country* to interpose in a Quarrel between some *neighbouring Gentlemen*; though I had really no manner of *Interest* in it; but I was very confidently assured that it might possibly, at some Time, or in some Way or other, affect
Me;

continued for Years, can find at last no other Means left to prevent such *rude Assaults*, but an humble Offer to do all the *expensive Jobs*, to perform all the *Drudgery Work* for that Kingdom, which has handled them so roughly, provided they will graciously permit them to live in *Peace* and *Quiet* as formerly? But it is to be hoped that all these *Terrors* are imaginary; and that we have got much better Terms than such as are contained in those *Articles*, which our *News-Writers* have presumed to impose upon the *Publick*; and by which they insolently endeavour to persuade us that, after *three Years tedious Negotiations*, our *wise and excellent-Ministers* could not hammer out a *better Treaty* than That of *Utrecht*, which raised their Indignation so much at the latter End of Queen *ANNE's* Reign. For my Part, I am more apt to believe that we are now arrived at that fortunate Period, when (to use the Words of another *ministerial Advocate* *) "*deluded Nations* once more understand " their long-neglected Interests; when the *Brison* and " the *Spaniard* have again embrac'd in Leagues of " *useful Friendship*; when the *Ocean* smiles with *Safety*; " when the *Merchant* finds a sure Return of *Treasures*; " when *Peace* is purchased without the *Expence* of " *Blood*; when the Gates of *Janus* are shut, and the " *Ports of Commerce* open;" and that this *Treaty* is the most effectual in its *Nature*, the most *extensive* in its *Scope*, the most *advantageous* in its *Terms*, a most *distinguish'd Blessing* to their Kingdoms, and no ways liable to any *just Exceptions*.

I shall close my *Epistle* with this *sublime Description*; and in the Faith of finding it as *true*, as it is *elegant*,

I remain Yours,
IMPARTIAL WHIG.

R.



N° 181. SATURDAY, *December 20, 1729.*

We shall oblige our Readers, this Week, with a little Miscellany of Letters from our Correspondents upon several Occasions, which we hope will prove agreeable and entertaining.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *E/q*;

S I R,



Am a Country Gentleman. My Estate is considerable. Our Family has, for some Ages, made a Figure in the Country where I live; and almost all my Ancestors have, from Time to Time, been Justices of the *Quorum*, as we call it. We have been reckoned Men of plain and useful Understandings; and accordingly we have frequently made up the *Differences* among our Neighbours, as often as we were made *Referees* in their Quarrels. It is true, I did some time since refuse to be *Arbitrator* in a Case, where it must have turned to the Advantage of *Me* and *my Family*; but, Sir, what I would now advise with you upon is, perhaps, as odd an Affair as ever happened. I was some time since persuaded to take an expensive Journey *cross the Country* to interpose in a Quarrel between some *neighbouring Gentlemen*; though I had really no manner of *Interest* in it; but I was very confidently assured that it might possibly, at some Time, or in some Way or other, affect
Me;

Me; or, at least, that it wou'd recover my Reputation, which had been hurt in this Particular, and restore me to the Character of being the *chief Arbitrator* in the County.—Well, Sir, to be short, I set out on this *extraordinary Expedition*. I increased my Retinue; I rack'd my Tenants; I made a very great Expence; and my *Butler* and my *Coachman Robin* undertook to conduct me in the Journey; but too soon I found that they were utterly incapable of the Business they had undertaken, and quite ignorant of the *right Road*. Every Hour they misled me into difficult and almost impassable Ways. I was continually jolted, bruised, and every Moment in Danger of being overturn'd. My Coach was broke; my Horses spoiled; I was obliged to hire others; I found myself imposed on at every Inn I came to; my *Servants* demanding extraordinary Allowances at every Stage for venturing with me thro' such *dirty Roads*; my Baggage was half spoiled, and at last I was so far from succeeding, that I was glad to get home again out of the *Scrape* as well as I could, without any Success in the Business I was about; and now after having spent a *very great Sum*, and more Weeks in the Journey, than so many Days would have been necessary to have performed it in, I returned with my Equipage all cover'd with *Dirt*, and became the Jest of my *Neighbours*; but I no sooner came home than my *Butler* and my *Coachman*, without waiting till I should call them to Account for their *ill Conduct*, quarrell'd with one another; and it seems the Dispute was not who deserved most to be *punished* for their Mismanagement, but which of the Two had *merited most*; as if, after they had exposed me to so much *Danger*, *Expence*, and *Trouble*, they had a Right to claim a *Reward* for not having drowned me, or broke my Neck in the Journey.

This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, is, I think, a remarkable Instance of the Insolence of *bad Servants*. Make what

Use of it you please. It may be of Benefit to the Publick. I have found out since that my *Coachman* stands me in a considerable Sum every Year in * *OAT-ALS*, as he calls it; for which my Horses don't thrive a whit the better; but when I complain of This, he raises a *Horse-Laugh* and, without answering to the Point, swears no Man in *England* can drive *so much* but *Himself*. I told him tho' That were true, it might give me an Opinion of his *Temerity*, but not of his *Skill*, or *Integrity*; and that I thought I ought to turn him off, and not live in Danger of having my *Bones broken*, to pay a Compliment to his *Vanity*.

R.

Yours, G. E.

CORNHILL, Dec. 13th. 1729.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

SIR,

I Belong to a Club of *Merchants* in this Part of the Town, where your Health is constantly toasted, as an Advocate for *Trade*, and am desired by the whole Society to congratulate you on the late Acquittal of Mr. *Franklin*, at whose Tryal I had the Curiosity to be present. We direct our Congratulations to you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, because we apprehend you to be principally concerned in this Affair; and we hope that we are at Liberty to do This without giving Offence to any Body. We should be far from wishing you Joy on this Occasion, if we thought you *guilty* of the Crimes laid to your Charge; that is, of being *disaffected to his Majesty*, and an *Enemy to your Country*.

No.

* A Cant-Term amongst Grooms for what they cheat their Masters of in buying Oats and Hay.

No, we rejoice because you have justified your *Innocence* in the Face of the World, and proved yourself *not guilty*. We rejoice that the *Verdict* of an *honest English Jury* hath confirmed our former, good Opinion of you; and we heartily wish that you may be able to justify yourself as fully upon all Occasions, when you shall be call'd upon to do it in the same Manner.

We hope, I say, that we may do This without Offence; for in Cases of a capital Nature the *Court*, that is the *King*, prays to God to send the Prisoner at the Bar a *good Deliverance*; and we look upon all *criminal Cases* in the same Light. The only just End of *Prosecutions* being to punish Those, who are hurtful to the Publick, and to deter others, by their Example, from committing the same Crimes; it is always to be wish'd, for the Good of Society, that the *Person accused* may be able to purge Himself and prove the Charge against Him to be groundless. It is the Duty of a *good Judge* to state the Case indifferently between the *Crown* and the *Defendant*, to whom, in some respects, He is a Kind of *Council*; and ought to assist Him, if through Inadvertency or Ignorance of the Law, He should slip any Thing material in his own *Defence*.

We can't tell, Mr. *D'Anvers*, what Opinion *some People* at the other End of the Town may have of you; but We can assure you that your Writings upon *mercantile Affairs* and our *late Sufferings in Trade* are very much approved of by us in the *City*. We are fully satisfy'd of your Intentions to *serve us*; and therefore We should be very sorry to see you involved in any Difficulties on our *Account*.

For this Reason, We could wish that you would, for the future, be very cautious of publishing any of the *insolent Bravadoes* and *Rhodomantades* of the *Spaniards*; I don't yet know whether I am to call them our *Friends*, or our *Enemies*. Let them flatter and caress Themselves as much as They please with an Opinion of their own *Wisdom*, and the *Figure*, which they have

have lately made in Europe, either *with*, or *without striking a Blow*. They are naturally proud and given to *boasting*, which can do us no Hurt, and deserves only our Contempt. Why therefore should you run any Hazards by publishing their *vain* and *insolent Draggadocios*, which are liable to be construed in a *criminal* Light, though you do it only with a Design of *exposing* them? — I grant, indeed, that the *Reflections* and even *Menaces* of our Enemies have been often published, for this Purpose, without giving Offence; particularly by the Author of the *Enquiry*, (as one of your Council very well observ'd) who put into the Mouth of the Duke de Ripperda, at that Time Prime-Minister of Spain, several insolent Expressions, which reflected very grossly, and without any *Disguise*, on the Person of his late, excellent Majesty; even such as threatening to *dethrone Him*, and *set up the Pretender to his Crown*; telling the World *that the People of England began to be weary of Him*, and calling Him, in plain Terms, PETIT MONSIEUR. Yet this Book, you say, was never call'd in Question by *Those in Authority*; and what is more, even the Duke de Ripperda himself, upon whom all these flagrant and most insolent Speeches are father'd, hath judg'd England, which He us'd in this Manner, the only proper Place, of all the World, for his *Retreat* and *Asylum*.

This is very true; but you cannot be ignorant, Mr. D'Anvers, that the vulgar Proverb is often verifi'd; which says *it is safer for some Men to steal an Horse than for others to look over the Hedge*. We often consider the Man, who speaks, as well as the Words, which are spoken; and this *Distinction* often makes the same Things *criminal in one Man*, which are esteem'd *meritorious in another*. I would therefore advise you to leave this dangerous Province to *those Writers*, who seem to be, at present, in an higher Degree of Favour than

than your self. *Illus Piscator sapiens.* I leave the Application to you and am, in the Name of our Club,

Sir,

Your sincere Well-wisher, and

Humble Servant,

O.

C. T.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

MR. D'ANVERS,

I Read your Paper, address'd to the *Representatives* of the good People of *England*, with some Pleasure; and I heartily wish it may have that good Effect you seem to propose. Tho' you have not hitherto been quite successful in your Endeavours, I hope that in this Case at least you will have the Satisfaction to see some Fruit of your Labours. But you must pardon me, if I don't altogether agree with you in some few Particulars; as, for Instance, in what you say of the *entire Equality of the Members*, and that *no one becomes more considerable than another, by any other Means than by his Service to his King and Country*. Now, these Things are so plainly contrary to *Matter of Fact*, that I can by no Means assent to them. Besides, I have several very good Reasons, which it may not, at present, be proper to give. There is one Thing more, which I can't possibly come into. You seem to think it neither for the *Honour*, nor *Interest* of a Corporation to be represented by what you are there pleased to stile a FAGGOT; whereas nothing is so manifest, as that (in some former *Parliaments*) it would have been both for the *Honour* and *Interest* of a Number of Boroughs that I could name in *Cornwall*, *Norfolk*, and elsewhere,

and

and greatly for the Interest of the Nation in general,
had They been represented by FAGGOTS ONLY.

R.

I am Yours, &c.

TEMPLE, Decemb. 1, 1729.

JOHN DOE.

From my own Chambers.

IT hath frequently been the Artifice of my Enemies; when they cannot prove me dissaffected from my own Writings, to foist others upon me and sometimes to publish the most infamous Scandal *Themselves*, under some Disguise, in order to fix *Imputations* and *Designs* upon me, which I have always sincerely disclaimed and abhorred.

Of this Sort is the dull and scandalous Advertisement, published in the *Daily Journal* of Tuesday Dec. the 9th. I believe no Reader, who considers the Design of it, can be long at a Loss to guess the *true Author*; for I think He discovers Himself very plainly by the following Marks.

1st, By putting forth his Scandal in a *Paper*, which He hath often made Use of to vent his scurrilous Reflections upon several Persons of Honour.

2^{dly}, By his publishing it immediately after Mr. *Francklin's Acquittal*; from whence He would insinuate the Consequence of that *just Verdict* to have been the giving a Looſe to Scandal of the *highest Nature*.

3^{dly}, By a Liberty, which hardly one Man in this Kingdom presumes to take, besides *our Author*, of imputing his own Faults to *Persons*, for whom every other Man hath the most awful Respect.

4^{thly}, By that awkward Finesse of *abusing Himself*, to conceal the *true Author*, and throw the Suspicion upon *Gentlemen*, who as much detest the disloyal Reflection, which seems to be contained in the Advertisement, as They do the pitiful Craft of the *Author*; though even here his *Self-Love* breaks out most apparently

rently; for He cannot find in his Heart to speak plain, even when his Interest was concerned in it, but softens the well-known Name of *Robin Brass* into *Robin Brace*.

sibly, and principally by the *Stupidity* of the Composition; which hath ever been so remarkable in all his Productions, that it is become his distinguishing Characteristick; as likewise by the Allusion to his *darling Diversion*.

It cannot be deny'd, indeed, that there is some Truth in the Advertisement, as far as it relates to *Himself*; for it is notorious that his *Pack of Hounds* hath been very hard run for two or three Years past, and I believe He may stand in some Need of a fresh Supply; but methinks it was not altogether politic to disparage them publicly Himself, and make them the Instruments of conveying his foul Scandal, lest they should turn upon Him in Resentment and tear Him to Pieces, as They once served that celebrated Huntsman, *Affeen* of Old.

GRAY'S-INN, Dec. 15th, 1729.

C.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

An EPIGRAM.

A Glorious new, prophetick Star
The eastern *Magi* drew from far;
A wondrous *Star* does now appear,
And governs all our *wise Men* here;
Tho' it's deluding dangerous Rays
Point out such dirty, slippery Ways,
That it's no heavenly Flame, I trow,
But knavish † *Robin Goodfellow*.

† *Ignis fatuus.*

N^o 182. SATURDAY, December 27, 1729.

———*Dii Te, Damaspippe, Deaque
Verm ob Consilium donent Tonfore*———

HOR.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

Dear Caleb,



HE *Stoicks* were very opiniative of their own Wisdom; and maintained, amongst other ridiculous Tenets, that all Mankind were *mad*, except Themselves. Your old Friend *Horace* exposes this arrogant, overweening Maxim very pleasantly in one of his Satires, under the Character of *Damaspippus*; who from an *ignorant Virtuoso*, or a kind of *broken Stock-jobber*, set Himself up for a rigid Philosopher of *this Sect*; and undertook to prove all the World *lunatick*. According to the Principles of these Men, the *Miser* and the *Spend-thrift*, the *Proud*, *Ambitious*, *Luxurious* and *Corrupt* were in Reality no better than *Madmen*. In short, *Ignorance*, *Folly* and *Vice* of all Kinds, from the King to the Beggar, were, in their Opinion, only different Species and Degrees of this *epidemical Malady*.

I have often wonder'd, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the *great Men* of those Times would countenance, or even tolerate *such a Sect*; the fundamental Doctrines of whose Creed were a standing Libel upon the Age, in which they lived; and who, under the specious Pretence of *Philosophy* and *Instruction*, were diligent and constant Spreaders

Spreaders of *Scandal* and *Sedition*. Nay, I look upon it as a remarkable Instance of the Lenity of the *Roman* Government, under *Augustus*, that *Horace* Himself was not taken up and called to Account for writing and publishing such a *Satire* ; in which it is universally agreed, amongst the Learned, that He only put it into *another Person's* Mouth, what He could not speak so freely *Himself*, and made use of this silly Fellow, *Damasippus*, to vent his *own Reflections* on the Vices and Follies of those Times ; particularly, where He makes Him insinuate that *Male-administration* is one Species of *Madness*.

Si MALE REM GERERE infani est—

which seems to contain a severe *Innuendo*, that *somebody in Power*, at that Time, was infected with *this Kind of Frenzy* ; and yet it is well known that the *Satirist* not only escaped with *Impunity*, but enjoyed the Favour both of the *Emperor* Himself and of *Mecenas*, his chief Favourite, to a very great Degree. Perhaps, that *wise Prince*, and *honest Statesman* might think that all Censure upon *Vice and Folly in general* (though liable to *particular Applications*, either to *great*, or *little Men*) was a Liberty within the Bounds of *just Satire* ; of great Service to the Cause of *Virtue* ; and what ought to be tolerated and encouraged under a good Government. That it was suffered to prevail, in a very free Manner, under the Reign of *Julius Caesar*, and during the first part of the Reign of *Augustus*, is evident from many Instances, which could be produced out of History. Indeed, when *Augustus* abandon'd Himself to all Manner of Tyranny, towards the latter End of his Reign, He grew out of Humour with these *satirical Philosophers*, and punish'd them for their Writings, by a violent Explanation of the *Law against Treason*, as you have formerly observed. The succeeding Emperors improved upon his Model, and car-

ried his Precedent into a Prosecution of all satirical Writings, whether *general* or *particular*, *explicit* or *implicit*. Not only *Words*, (*ambiguous*, *equivocal Words*) but even *Signs*, *Emblems*, *Hieroglyphicks*, *Nods*, *Frowns* and *Smiles* were construed, by the Imperial Advocates, into *criminal Innuendos*. In Nero's Reign that great and good Man *Seneca*, his Tutor and honest Minister, suffer'd Martyrdom for putting the Principles of his *Philosophy* into Practice; and several other plain-dealing *Stoicks*, (who, in the modern Phrase, were *Libellers* by Profession) underwent the same Fate.

Happy was it for *Horace*, that He did not live in those Days; when all his inimitable Wit and Humour and Art would have stood Him in but little Stead. It would have been in vain for Him to think of escaping Punishment by concealing his courtly Satire in *ironical Panegyrick*; or by dressing it up in *Allegories* and *Parallels*; or veiling it under the Fable of a *Country Mouse* and a *City Mouse*; or putting it into the Mouth of *Damasippus*, or any other *Adversary*. He would have been told, no Doubt, that *Scandal* was not the less *Scandal* for being *disguised*; that *innocent Words* were often made Use of to cover *criminal Meanings*, of which his *Prosecutors* were the best Judges; and that his Writings might be *Libels*, though the Matter contained in them were *true*; nay, perhaps, it would have been added that They were *Libels*, BECAUSE *it was true*; and the *Notoriety of the Fact* might have been made an *Evidence of his Intention*—But these infamous Prosecutions and Restraints on the *Liberty of Writing* are branded in History as Marks of the blackest Tyranny; and, I hope, for that Reason, They will never be made *Precedents* in any free Country.

I shall now return to the Purpose of this Letter; and hope it will be no Affront, Mr. D'Anvers, to say that you seem to be somewhat a-kin to the *antient Stoicks* in your Writings. Your Adversaries have often reproach'd

reproach'd you (perhaps unjustly) with *Arrogance*, *Self-Conceit* and a vain Opinion of your own *Wisdom*; and I confess that, if I apprehend your Meaning right, the Business of your Paper hath been to prove the World *MAD*; that is, according to the Principles of *Stoicism*, governed by a strange Medley of *Ambition*, *Ignorance*, *Luxury* and *Corruption*. I hope, Mr. D'Anvers, that I neither do you any Injustice, nor exceed my proper Bounds in this Assertion, which is the common Complaint of all Divines, Moralists and political Writers; but I desire you to soften any Expressions, which you may think too unseasonable, and publish my Thoughts in what Manner you please; for I cannot pretend to be so good a Judge as you are, how far a Man may take the Liberty, in this nice Age, to censure and complain of *Vice*, without incurring the Imputation of a *Libeller* and the Penalties of the *Law*.

If you are not ashamed of the Character of a *modern Stoick*, I wish you would explain this System a little farther, and expose the prevailing *Madness* of the present Age, as *Horace* did That of antient *Rome*. I am sure there is ample Matter for a fine Dissertation on this Subject, if you think the Times are not too tender and generally infected to bear it; especially, if you might be allowed to trace the Marks of *State-Lunacy*, (as you formerly did Those of a *wicked Minister*;) with Relation to *Peace* and *War*, to *Treaties*, *Alliances* and *Negotiations*.

I am sensible that such an Undertaking would be liable to several Exceptions and little Sarcasms; as, for Instance, that you were endeavouring to revive an exploded System of *heathen Philosophy*, with an insolent View of libelling Mankind, and branding them with *Folly* and *Madness*, in order to exalt the Wisdom and Integrity of your own *Sett*. Nay, perhaps, your Observations upon the *bad Politicks* of the World in general might be applied to *some particular great Statesmen* of this Nation, and construed into Reflections

upon our late *wise* and *excellent Negotiations*; though we can make no Doubt, from their *past Conduct*, that it will appear undeniably evident to all the World, *when the Articles of the Treaty are made publick*, that They could proceed only from *honest Hearts, long Heads, and deep Understandings*.

But whether you may think fit to run the Hazard of such far-fetch'd Constructions or not, I cannot forbear taking some Notice of *another Set of Philosophers*, whom I shall distinguish by the Name of *Anti-Stoicks*; the Principles of this *modern School* being the very Reverse of Those establish'd by *Zeno* of old. These *Philosophers*, who are grown very numerous amongst us, have some Resemblance to the antient *Epicureans*, as They place their *summum Bonum* in *present Pleasure*, and the Gratification of their *Apposites*, without any Regard to *future Consequences*; but then They carry their Principles a great deal farther than their *Predecessors* ever did; for They not only consult *Pleasure*, as their *chief Good*, but pursue it by the most *wicked Means*, and purchase it at the Expence of the Happiness and Prosperity of Millions. In short, They differ from all the *antient Sects*, who never excluded *Virtue* out of their Systems, and are diametrically opposite, both in their Principles and Practices, to the *Stoicks*, who held it as an establish'd Maxim that *Knaves and Fools*, of all Kinds, were downright *Madmen*; whereas these *new Philosophers*, in direct Contradiction to them, assert that They are the *only sober Part* of the World. If they hear a Man talk with any Emotion against *Bribery and Corruption*, or any other *fashionable Vice*, They shake their Heads at one another, and seem to pity Him for the Misfortunes, which have turn'd his Brain. According to their Maxims, a Man, who refuses to do any dirty Work for a *Pension*, or quits a good *Place at Court*, rather than come into ruinous Measures, is fit for nothing but *another in Bedlam*.

The present Head of this School (who is a perfect Master of the *anti-stoical Philosophy*) constantly inculcates these *two Precepts* amongst his Disciples; *first*, to represent all his *Adversaries* as *Lunatics*; and *secondly*, to go boldly on with Him, through thick and thin, without minding the Reflections of *Those*, who have so manifestly lost their Senses.

How often, Mr. D'Anvers, have I heard the Disciples and Emissaries of this great *Arch-Philosopher* lament your Case in *Coffee-Houses* and other *publick Places*? When any of your Papers happen to be applauded in Company, They give us a smiling Sneeze, and cry; *ay, ay, perhaps the Man may write and mean well enough; but he is certainly mad, and stands in need of clean Straw and a dark Room; for would any Man, in his Wits, go so directly contrary to the Stream and his own Interest? Is such a Fellow able to correct the Measures of an Administration? Can He think it in his Power, to banish Corruption and reform the World? Alas! poor Creature! He might as well hope to batter down a certain Gentleman's magnificent Palace in Norfolk, by running his wife Head against the Walls of it!*

In this Light, Mr. D'Anvers, do these *Anti-Stoicks* look upon you and every Body else, who thinks and acts in the same Manner. But, Thanks to God! their *Self* (though too numerous and powerful) is but small in Comparison to the *whole Nation*, and continues to decline every Day. Their insolent and pernicious Tenets have been sufficiently exposed. The People have already felt the bad Effects of them, and seem resolved to oppose their Designs for the future. We have a gracious King, in whom We may confide; and an honest Parliament, which We have Reason to expect will soon exert Themselves, and put a finishing Hand to that *great Work*, which They so gloriously began the last Session. Thus will They fulfil the
Words

Words of the sacred Writer, which say that Fire shall consume the TABERNACLE OF BRIBERY.

I am S I R,

Your constant Reader, and humble Servant,

PHIL-HORATIUS.

Tom's Coffee-house, Covent-
Garden, Dec. 18, 1729.

A.

To the Author of the admirable COUNTRY JOURNAL
of Saturday the—1729, upon Non-Attendance in
Parliament.

S I R,

I Am ashamed to own my Name, when I confess my self to be one of those *Criminals*, whom you so justly rebuke in your Paper above-mentioned.

I am not able to keep my self from shewing this Piece of Sincerity; and confessing the Abhorrence, which you have raised in me of my self, by painting in such lively, such strong and true Colours, the Figure, which an Actor of such a Part makes, both in Town and Country; a Picture, which must infallibly reform all such Minds, as are not abandon'd, beyond the Possibility of Amendment; and This, I hope, will appear to be the Case of very few *Britons*.

For my own Part, I am unable to give any one Reason, that can well bear the Light, for the Conduct, which I have been publicly guilty of, for several Years past. I have frequently found my self moved, warmed, delighted with the Spirit of Honour and Eloquence, with which several great Truths have been delivered to us by *some Persons*, who have dared

to exert themselves, boldly and nobly, towards redressing the Grievances and Sufferings of their Country, though in Opposition to great Power, a great Majority, and notwithstanding the Odium, which they were sensible it would draw upon them from some *particular Persons* in Authority.

The Consequences, indeed, have been the most unjustifiable Slanders, spread zealously, though insignificantly. The falsest Motives, such as *Resentment* and *wrong Ambition*, have been ascribed as the Cause of a *noble Behaviour*, which they, who had neither Virtue nor Courage to *imitate*, were forced to *envy*.

This I have frequently observed, with inward Indignation; and I have ventured to express it very freely in *select Companies*; nay, I have resolved within my self to be one of the *illustrious Few*, on the next proper Occasion that should offer; but when it came to the Point of Performance, I do with the utmost Shame acknowledge that my Heart and Spirits have failed me, and I have either servilely followed *Numbers*, though blushing with inward Consciousness at what I was doing; or, which is almost as bad, made a mean Composition between *Principle* and *Interest*, by *absenting* my self in the Day of Trial.

The Truth is, I could not hitherto bring my self to support; with proper Indifference, angry Looks and and some other Inconveniencies that might ensue upon them; such as the Loss of a *Place*; or *something equivalent to a Place*, which being *more secret*, might be less liable to *Suspicion*.

I own, I have heard it said (and I think with Justice too) that receiving a *present, private Advantage*, whilst *publick Ones* are totally neglected, is like keeping up one's Constitution by *strong Spirits and Cordials* only for a Time; which Method must infallibly bring on a speedy and ruinous End. Yet I have sometimes flatter'd my self that those Things, which

I secretly condemn'd, might be redress'd without my Assistance; and for that Reason have frequently endeavour'd to satisfy my Conscience and avoid the Repentment of *great Men*, by an *inglorious Neutrality*; but now, at last, I am so touch'd, so affected by your admirable Reasons, on the whole of this Subject, that I feel strong Resolutions forming in my Mind to shew my self, on all future Occasions, a new Man; that is, to throw in my Mite toward promoting the Success of whatever I shall, at any Time hereafter, think *right* and *just*.

Accept, S I R, of this Return of the *prodigal Son*, in *your unknown Admirer, Respector, and faithful Servant*,

A WHIG in Profession.

From my Country-House,
Dec. 2. 1729.

O.

From my own Chambers.

IT is very remarkable that every Winter, towards the Meeting of Parliament, several little Scriblers are employ'd to pelt me with their Writings; in which perhaps there may be a double View; for though I am ready to acquit the *Writers* Themselves of any other Design than *getting a Livelihood by abusing Me*; yet their *Patrons* have plainly another End, by making their *Scurrilities*, which are always very *licentious*, an *Argument against the just Liberty of the Press*. This Stratagem was made Use of the last Session; and I find that it is to be play'd over again this Winter. But as their Papers have always had the Misfortune to be very *short-liv'd*, when I did not take some Notice of them, They have condescended to write me several Letters, acquainting me with their Case, and begging that I would be charitably disposed to give

give them some Credit, and promote the Sale of their Works, by exposing them to the World. As I have formerly done This, out of meer good Nature, upon some Occasions, it seems to give them Encouragement and Expectations of the same Favour again; but I desire to be troubled no more upon this Account; for I hereby declare that I shall, for the future, pay no Sort of Regard to them, unless They discover some Appearance of Wit or Argument in their Writings; or blab out some unlucky Truth, or make such Reflections, of a publick Nature, as require Animadversion.

It is for the *last Reason* that I am induced to take Notice of two Papers of this Kind. The *first* is the *Flying Post* of *Tuesday* last; in which some *obscure abandon'd Wretch* takes the Liberty, in the grossest Terms, to traduce the *present worthy* SHERIFFS of this County, and an *honest, English* JURY for doing their Duty, according to their Oaths. Nay, this *infamous Writer* carries his foul Accusation still higher, and insinuates a *Partiality* even in the *Charge to the FURY*. His Words are, "that contrary to the *plain Fact*, to "the *Proof*, to the *CHARGE of the Court*, and "as much *Conviction of Conscience as They were capable of*, They clear'd *D'Anvers* of the Guilt of his infamous Libel, and very wisely and honestly *took it to Themselves*."——Again, "One may reasonably "hope that a *Dozen such Fellows* cannot again be "pick'd up any where in *England*, let who will have "the *Direction of the Pannel*."

The *other* is the Author of a stupid Paper, which came out one Day this Week, under the Title of the *seasonable Writer*, and threatens to molest us, *as often as Occasion requires, during the ensuing Session of Parliament*; but I believe I shall not think fit to take Notice of any of his future Lucubrations. I now couple Him with his Brother the *Flying Post*, because he not only hath the Impudence to abuse the *Jury* in the
same

same Manner, calling them an *infamous Jury*, for no other Reason than because They would not conform their Consciences to the Purposes of *some Men*; but even insinuates that there is, at present, more than *one Monarch* of GREAT BRITAIN, in the following Words, *viz.* "Nor would I here attempt a Detail of the various Methods, publickly and privately taken by Them, to raise popular Prejudices against the present Possessors of the Throne." Now I take it that a *Monarchy* of *two, or more Persons*, is a Contradiction in Terms, from the very Meaning of the Word, which denotes the *Power of ONE*; and I never heard of any Law, which invests any *other Person* with a co-ordinate, regal Power with the King Himself. He cannot surely mean the *Pretender*; for, God be praised! He is not a *present Possessor of the Throne*, and I hope never will. Onceindeed the *regal Power* was divided between *two Persons*, by Act of Parliament; I mean between King *William* and Queen *Mary*; but That is not our Case at present. I wish therefore that this *vile Prostitute* had not some Design of throwing out *Imputations*, too gross to be explain'd. Perhaps, He will refer us to the Context, and say that by the *present Possessors* of the Throne He meant *those Persons*, against whom I am supposed to write; *i. e.* *some particular Ministers*, who shall be nameless. But This makes his Insinuation still the worse; for what can be more insolent than an Assertion *that his Majesty admits any of his Servants into a Partnership of his Kingdom*?

As zealous as I am for the *Liberty of the Press*, I never denied that it may be carried into *Licentiousness*, which I think ought to be punished, though not by the *Suppression of useful Writings*; and though I am very unwilling to spirit up any Prosecutions of this Nature; yet I think no Writers can deserve them more than Those before us, who have thus insolently aspers'd

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aspers'd the *worthy Magistrates* of the City; accused an *impartial, disinterested, English Jury* of Corruption, without any Shadow or Pretence of Reason; and endeavoured to diminish his Majesty's regal Prerogative, by setting a *Partner* upon his Throne.

GRAYS-INN, *Det.*

24. 1729.

D.

CAL. D'ANVERS.



VOL. V.

X

A P P E N -



A P P E N D I X.

A S H O R T V I E W O F T H E

State of AFFAIRS,

With RELATION to

G R E A T B R I T A I N,

F O R

Four Years past;

W I T H S O M E

R E M A R K S

O N

The TREATY lately published, and a
Pamphlet, intituled, OBSERVA-
TIONS upon it.

Printed in the Year 1730.





A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
State of AFFAIRS,
With Relation to.
Great Britain, &c.



Pamphlet having been lately published by Mr. Buckley, intituled *a Treaty of Peace, Union, Friendship and mutual Defence between the Crowns of Great-Britain, France and Spain, &c.* it cannot be improper nor unreasonable to take a short View of the State of Affairs, with Relation to *Great-Britain*, for some Years past, and the Prospect, which *this Treaty* gives us for the Time to come.

In the Year 1724, his late Majesty was pleased to assure us, from the Throne, that We had *Peace with*

ALL POWERS *abroad*; and we were, in particular, so far from having any Contests, or Disputes with the *Emperor* and the *King of Spain*, as to all outward Appearance at that Time, that We were made *Mediators* between them, at the Congress of *Cambray*, in Conjunction with *France*; but immediately after This, the Face of Affairs was intirely changed, by the Conclusion of the *Treaty of Vienna*; which gave our *Ministers* such dreadful Apprehensions of some *secret Designs* against the Interest of *Great-Britain*, that it induced them to project a *Counter-Alliance*, called the *Hanover Treaty*, to oppose the Machinations of these *new Allies*, and prevent the Execution of their *Schemes*.

The secret Motives to this *sudden, unaccountable* and *formidable Union* (as it was stiled in the *Enquiry*). between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* were canvassed very largely, last Winter, by the Gentlemen concerned in the *Craftsman* and his *Opponents*; and I think it was demonstratively proved, by the *former*, that the *sending back the Infanta* was the *immediate Cause*, with Relation to *France*, which *threw the King of Spain into the Arms of the Emperor*; and that our *Refusal to accept of the sole Mediation*, upon this Occurrence, out of Complaisance to our good Allies the *French*, was one *accessory Cause* of it; as *another* might be our *Refusal to deliver up the Fortrels of Gibraltar* into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, in Pursuance of a *positive Engagement*, as they pretended, and a *Promise*, founded on a *Letter* from his late Majesty to the *King of Spain*; which hath been since fully explained to the World.

The *Emperor* might likewise have some *private Reasons* for accepting this Offer from *Spain*, besides those advantageous Terms, which were proposed to Him, and have been so much exaggerated.

But whatever might be the secret Springs of this *Alliance*, the open and profess'd Motives to the Project

ject of the *Treaty of Hanover* were the *secret Articles*, which the *Treaty of Vienna* was said to contain; and These indeed were the only reasonable and justifiable Motives, which could engage our *Ministers* in it; for a *meer Union* between the *Emperor* and *Spain* was not, of itself, of so formidable a Nature, as it hath been represented. They might have concluded a *Treaty of Peace*, or *Commerce*, or *mutual Defence*, as all Nations have a Right to do, without giving any reasonable Ground of *Resentment*, or *Apprehension*. Nay, We might have safely acceded to *such a Treaty*, as We were invited to do. But it was the *secret, offensive Treaty*, which raised our Indignation, alarmed our Fears, and put us upon our Guard. For this Reason the Author of the *Enquiry* employ'd all his Strength to prove that there really was such a *secret Treaty*; and He seem'd to be as positive as if He had been present at the signing of it, that the *following Articles* were contain'd in it; *viz.* 1st, that the King of *Spain* had entered into an Engagement to support his *Imperial Majesty*, by Force of Arms, in carrying on a Trade from *Ostend* to the *East-Indies*, in Violation of Treaties, as it was alledged; and had given him greater Privileges of Trade in the *West-Indies* than to the *English*. 2^{dly}, that his *Imperial Majesty* had taken a like Engagement to assist the King of *Spain* in endeavouring to wrest *Gibraltar* out of our Hands. 3^{dly}, that they had Both jointly engaged to make an Attempt in Favour of the *Presender*, and to set Him upon the Throne of *Great-Britain*. 4^{thly}, that a Marriage was agreed upon between the Infant *Don Carlos*, and the *eldest Caroline Arch-Duchess*, which threaten'd *Europe* with *universal Monarchy*.

These were the *secret Engagements*, which gave Occasion to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and upon which the Expediency of it, and the Conduct of our *Ministers* hath been justified both within Doors and without.

Indeed

Indeed, this *secret, offensive Treaty* and the *Articles*, supposed to be contained in it, were immediately and very strenuously denied by the contracting Parties in the *Treaty of Vienna*; particularly, *That* of endeavouring to set the *Pretender* on the *British Throne*; which the *Emperor* ordered his Minister to declare, upon his *Imperial Word*, to be intirely *without Foundation*; but the *Emperor* is a *Papist*, as the Author of the *Enquiry* very justly observed; and therefore his *Word* could not be of equal Validity with the learned Arguments of a *good, Protestant Writer*, or the solemn Asseveration of a *Protestant Minister*. I speak This with all due Deference to our *French Allies*; who, though *Papists in Principle*, have been found to be thoroughly *Protestants* in their *Practices*.

It must be confessed likewise, that whatever might be the Engagements of this *secret, offensive Treaty*, which was never yet brought to Light, there does not seem to be the least Proof (I mean, besides the Arguments and Asseverations before-mentioned) that the *Emperor* gave his *cattholick Majesty* any Assistance, during the Siege of *Gibraltar*; or that his *cattholick Majesty*, on the other Hand, supported the *Emperor* in his Project for carrying on a Trade from *Ostend*; or gave Him any Privileges of Commerce in the *West-Indies*, superior to what had been granted to the *English*; or that there ever was any Design of a Marriage between *Don Carlos* and the *eldest Arch-Duchess of Austria*—But These are *Posulata*, which We are obliged, and every *good Englishman* will be ready to grant, for the Justification of *those wise and steady Measures*, which our *Ministers* have so gloriously pursued, for several Years past.

Great Pains have been taken, on *both Sides*, to throw the Occasion of our late unhappy Disturbances upon *each other*. The *clandestine Manner*, in which the *defensive Treaty of Vienna* was carried on, without communicating it to the Court of *Great-Britain*, was
made

made a principal Argument, in the Enquiry, that there must be a *secret, offensive Treaty*. On the other Hand, the Imperialists have endeavoured to throw the Odium back upon us; and alledg'd, in their Excuse for this *private Way of Treating*, that We gave the first Unbrage, and set them an Example for it, by concluding a *private Treaty at Madrid*, whilst We were under the Circumstances of *Mediators* between *those Courts* and *Vienna*——But *This* also is a very nice and curious Question, which I shall not take upon me to determine.

Without enquiring therefore any farther into the Grounds and Reasons of these *two great Alliances*, let us consider what have been the Consequences of them; and here I think, there can be no Room for Dispute; since whatever might be the Motives to the *Treaty of Vienna*, or the *secret Designs* of it, the Conclusion of a *Treaty with France*, in opposition to it, was certainly the Occasion of widening our Differences with *Spain*, and engaged us in *those Measures*, both *hostile* and *pacifick*, which have been since taken.

Three large Squadrons of Ships of War were immediately equipp'd, at a vast Expence, and sent into the *Baltick*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *West-Indies*. The Commander of the *last* had ever memorable Orders to lie before *Portobello*, and block up the *Galleons*, which were then coming home, and even to use *persuasive Force*, in order to possess himself not only of *Them*, but likewise of the *Florilla*, which lay at *la Vera Cruz*, some thousand Miles off; but the *Spaniards* not being so complaisant as to put themselves in his Power, He continued upon that unwholesome Station 'till his Ships were almost destroy'd by the *Worm*, his Provisions spent, and his Men perish'd, by Thousands, in the most miserable Manner. Nor was *This* all. The King of *Spain* looked upon this Procedure as an Act of *Hostility* and resented it accordingly,

ingly, by laying a vigorous Siege to *Gibraltar*; and it hath been made a Doubt whether our *Allies* did not view it in the same Light; for though it was stipulated, in the *Treaty of Hanover*, that the contracting Parties should assist and support each other, in Case their Dominions were *attack'd*; though We had frequent Assurances given us, by a *certain Gentleman*, that the *French* would make the Siege of *Gibraltar* a *Causæ Fœderis*, and were ready to march a large Army into *Roussillon*, to divert that Design, or oblige the *Spaniards* to raise it; yet, I say, nothing of all This was done. The Siege continued several Months; and as the *Emperor* did not assist the King of *Spain* in carrying it on, as the *Author of the Enquiry* told us he had engaged to do; so neither did the Court of *France* move a Man to our Assistance in the *Defence* of it, as One of the Patrons of the *Enquiry* assured us they would; but they observed an exact *Neutrality*, at most, and sat unconcern'd Spectators of our Danger and Expence.

I cannot forbear observing, in this Place, that tho' these extraordinary, naval Armaments and Expeditions were look'd upon as *Hostilities* by the *Spaniards*, and produced a Return of *Hostilities* upon Us; yet they did not answer the End, which *farther Hostilities* would very probably have done; and at the same Time gave our *Allies* an Opportunity of withholding their Assistance, by opening a Dispute whether we were not the *Aggressors*; for, in that Case, they were not obliged to assist us, by Virtue of an *Alliance*, which was *defensive only*. Thus we had the Misfortune to do enough to provoke the *Spaniards* to *Hostilities*, but not enough to bring them to a *Compliance with our Terms*.

Our *Land Forces* were considerably augmented upon the same Account. Our *Taxes* were of Consequence increased; and our *national Debts* were so far from being reduced in such a Degree, as they might otherwise

wife have been, that instead of discharging a great Part of them, which we could have done, we have been incurring a *large Debt*, which we need not have done.

In the mean Time, our *Trade* decay'd in every Part of it, and dwindled away almost to nothing in some of its most beneficial Branches; our *Manufactures* declin'd; and our *Merchants* sustained insupportable Losses; their Ships being taken without Number in the *west Indies*, the *Ocean*, and even in our *own Channel*; having no *Convoy*s to guard them, and no *Letters of Reprizal* granted to make themselves Satisfaction.

At length, *Preliminaries* were agreed upon for a general Pacification; which were signed at *Paris*, on the 20th—31st of *May*, 1727, by the Ministers plenipotentiary of his *Imperial Majesty*, his *Britannick Majesty*, the *most christian King*, and the *States General*; and on the 2d—13th of the next Month they were sign'd at *Vienna* by the Minister of his *catheolick Majesty*; that is, *above two Years and an half ago*.

By *this Convention* it was stipulated that, within the Space of *four Months* after these Articles were signed, a *Congress* should be open'd; in which all the *Rights* and *Presensions* of the contracting Powers should be examin'd, discuss'd and determin'd; and that the several Powers should earnestly injoin their respective *Plenipotentiaries* to avoid *all Obstructions*, or *Embarrassments*, which might in any Manner *protract*, or *disturb* the *Congress*.

But the *Preliminaries* were no sooner signed, than *new Difficulties* and *Disputes* were started concerning the *Meaning* of them; particularly with regard to *those Articles*, which affected *Great Britain*; such as raising the *Siege of Gibraltar*, and releasing the Ship *Prince Frederick*, as well as the other Ships taken by the *Spaniards*. His *catheolick Majesty* insisted that

a mere *Suspension of Arms*, stipulated by the *Preliminaries*, did not imply an *actual Raising the Siege*; and that the *Restitution of the Ship Prince Frederick* was not mentioned, or included in them; whereas we demanded both, by *Virtue of these Articles*. The Court of Spain insisted likewise on an *Indulto* of 20 per Cent. upon the *Effects of private Persons*, embark'd in the *Flotilla*, contrary to the 5th *preliminary Article*, as it was alledged on our Part.

After these new *Disputes* had been agitated, with great Warmth, for several Months, they were adjusted by another *Convention*, negotiated by the Count de Rottembourg, Minister of France at the Court of Spain, and sign'd at the *Paro* on March the 6th, 1728. By this *Convention* the *Preliminaries* were now model'd, and it was again agreed that all the *respective Propositions* on each Side should be produced, debated and decided in the *Congress*. Upon this the King of Spain agreed to the *Ratification* of the *Preliminaries*; but this was no sooner done than still other *fresh Difficulties* arose, concerning the *Orders*, which were agreed on both Sides to be sent to the *west Indies*, in Pursuance of this *Act of Ratification*; but at length these *Difficulties* were likewise got over, for the Present, and the *Congress* was open'd at *Seissons* on the 3d—14th of June, 1728, above eight Months after the Time, thus was stipulated by the *Preliminaries*.

It is necessary to observe here again that, during all these Negotiations, We had no Minister at the Court of Spain, but depended on the good Offices of M. Vandermeer and the Count de Rottembourg, who managed all our Affairs; and I have been told that One of them did not act his Part intirely to our Satisfaction.

However, this Point of the *Congress* being at last obtained, after a tedious Course of *Negotiation* and *Solicitation*, attended with various *Schemes*, *Projects* and *Conventions*, We had the strongest Assurances given

us that our Affairs would be now brought to a *speedy and happy Accommodation*; that our *Trade* would be secured, for the future, on a *firm and solid Foundation*; that our *unfortunate, suffering Merchants* would receive ample Satisfaction for all their *past Losses*; and that the *Affair of Gibraltar and Portmahon*, which had given us so much Uneasiness, *would not be so much as mentioned in the Congress*—But what was the Event? The *Plenipotentiaries* assembled in Form; and, having spent five or six Months in *Ceremonies, and Compliments* to Cardinal *Fleury*, as well as *Entertainments, Balls, Hunting-Matches* and other *Diversions*, they broke up and returned to their respective Courts, without settling any *material Point* towards the *general Pacification*, so long promised and desired.

Indeed a Project, call'd a *provisional Treaty*, was concerted by the *Allies of Hanover*, and laid before the World last Winter, with pompous *OBSERVATIONS* upon it; in which the great *Wisdom of that Scheme* was explained, and *Hopes* were given us that their *Imperial and catholick Majesties* would accede to it. But as *this Project* was far from giving a general Satisfaction *at home*, so neither was it ever accepted by *those Powers abroad*. On the contrary, the main *Business* of the *Parliament* was no sooner got over, than Affairs seem'd again to be tending to a *Rupture*. The *Conferences at Soissons* continued suspended, and *military Preparations* were renewed in most Parts of *Europe*; particularly at *SPITHEAD*; where a powerful, united Fleet of *English and Dutch Ships* of War assembled together in a very formidable Figure, as if designed for some great Enterprize of the last Importance; but having lain there at Anchor, for the whole Summer, in a very peaceable and hospitable Manner, for the Reception and Entertainment of all *Visitors*, (whose Curiosity to view so fine a Sight drew them thither from all Parts of the Kingdom) they separated

rated at last, without committing one *Act of Hostility*, and returned in Safety to their respective Harbours.

The Continuance of this *pacifick Armada* at *Spithead*, for so many Months together, hath given some People an Handle to suggest that *one of our Allies* hath received some Assurances of Satisfaction for their extraordinary Expence on this Occasion; and that our military Genius was restrained from any hostile Exploits by the prevailing Influence of the other. They go farther, and alledge that the *Dutch Squadron*, which join'd *ours*, was not originally designed for *that Service*. They tell us, with great Assurance, that they were equipped to prevent the Designs of his *Danish Majesty*, with Respect to the *Altens Company*; and that *that Affair* being made easy for the Present, We prevail'd upon them, by our *persuasive Influence*, to make a Figure with *us* at *Spithead*; but that they had no Orders to sail *any farther*, supposing we had been in a *fighting Humour*, being neither *visituated* nor otherwise *provided* for any Expedition. But I make no Doubt that these Suggestions will be soon proved groundless, in a proper Place, and that the Equipment and Disposition of *this Fleet* will appear to be *wise, prudent and necessary*.

It hath been however our peculiar Misfortune that, during all this Time, whilst our *Expences* and *Taxes* have run very high, our *Commerce* hath been grievously interrupted in its most valuable Branches; not only by the continued Depredations of the *Spaniards* on our Merchants in the *west Indies*, but likewise by a very strict *Embargo*, which it was thought expedient to lay, for above two Months together, on all Ships bound from *Jamaica* and *Virginia*, on some Apprehensions, as it is said, of a Descent from the *Spaniards*. I call *This a peculiar Misfortune to us*; because our *Allies* have not lain under the same Disadvantages in their *Trade* and the Consumption of their *Manufactures*; but, on the contrary, have reap'd a very great *Benefit*

Benefit from our Misfortunes; especially the French; who brought their Sugars, Tobacco, and other American Commodities to a much better Market in Europe, by the Restrains, which was continued so long on our Shipping in those Parts.

But it will be asked, perhaps, why I dwell so long on this melancholy Side of our Case; and do not rather congratulate my Countrymen on that happy Turn, which the *Treaty*, lately concluded, hath given to our Affairs? My Answer to This is, that I thought it necessary to take a short Review of our Affairs for *some Years back*; to consider how *these Troubles were brought upon us*; what *we have suffered by them*; and what kind of *Treatment we have already met with*; in order to form a right Judgment on our *present Condition* and our *future Prospect*.

I might also make a Doubt whether the *Treaty*, lately published by Mr. *Buckley*, is the genuine Treaty concluded at *Seville*; because it does not appear to be published by *Authority*; at least, whether *all the Articles* are contained in it. I confess, it seems very improbable, for several Reasons, which I may hereafter mention.

However, I will just take a short View of it, as it is given us; and see whether it contains all those *good Things*, which have been so often promis'd, and we have so much Reason to expect, after all our *heavy Losses* and *extraordinary Expenses*.

Such an Examination is the more necessary at present, because the Publication of *this Treaty* was immediately follow'd, according to annual Custom, with *ridiculous Observations* upon it, calculated to impose upon the World, by straining it to a Sense, which the Words will not bear, and could not possibly be intended by the *contrasting Parties*.

But before I examine these *Observations*, I must beg Leave to make some Remarks on the *Introduction* to them.

This Method of wiredrawing and refining upon *Treaties*, in opposition to their natural Construction and the true Design of them, hath been too much practis'd of late, for certain Purposes, which are no Secrets to the World; and I confess it hath always given me a strong Suspicion of Inability, or bad Designs, when there is any Occasion for *Explications* and *Refinements* of this Nature; for as *plain Terms* are always more ready than *ambiguous* and *equivocal ones*, They will always be prefer'd by Men of *Understanding* and *Integrity*, who will never suffer Themselves to be impos'd upon, nor endeavour to impose upon their Country by *Words*, which are liable to *eternal Cavils* and *Disputes*.

These anniversary Writers have often put me in Mind of the *French Mountebank*, mention'd by Mr. *Addison*, who had always a little Boy running before Him through the Streets of *Paris*, and crying, *my Father cures all Sorts of Distempers*; to which the *Doctor* replied with a grave Voice, *the Child speaks Truth*—Charlatans in *Politicks* must have their *Zanies* and *Merry-Andrews*, as well as other *Quacks*; but as a certain great *Doctor* hath sent his *Children* before Him, without any Success, for some Years past, He hath thought fit, at last, to *speak for Himself*, and be the *Trumpeter of his own Fame*.

If these *political Commentators* could persuade foreign Princes to understand *Treaties* in the Sense, which They are pleas'd to put upon them, it would be a real Service to their Country; but the Case is quite otherwise, and their *Explanations* have been hitherto constantly disowned by the *Powers abroad*, as soon as They have served the *Purposes*, for which they were intended *at home*. This hath often had a double ill Effect; for as it gives us the Character of *awkward Tricksters* in foreign Courts, so it always makes us uneasy and dissident *at home*, when We find ourselves

selves disappointed and deluded into *false Expectations*.

This is too evident from what hath been observed upon the *Treaties* and *Conventions* before-mention'd; and I wish it may not be verified in the *present Treaty* and the *Comments* now before us; upon which I shall take the Liberty of making some Remarks, without being in the least affected with the Scurrility of the Author, who seems to have the Vanity to think that his insolent Reflections and dogmatical Assertions will preclude all *farther Examination*, and deter others from contradicting what He lays down. He might as well have said; *pray, Gentlemen, read over these Articles, and confess what a glorious Peace I have procured for you. It is sufficient, Gentlemen, that I say it; and if you offer to be of another Opinion, it is a plain Sign that you are no better than Jacobites and Papists in your Hearts.*

It seems very extraordinary that *this Gentleman* should think proper to justify his *Treaty*, before any *Objections* had been published against it; for though He is pleas'd to say that *some People have taken Pains to discredit it, even before they had seen it*; I confess I am at a Loss to guess *whom* He means. I am sure *those Writers*, with whom He seems to be so very angry, have purposely declined any Animadversions upon it, though they might perhaps have been apprized of some of the *Articles*, till it was published by *Authority*; and I hope a *Man* of his *Importance* would not condescend to turn *Pamphleteer* and waste so much of his precious Time in answering the private Whispers of *Coffee-house Politicians*.

His great Officioufness therefore, in having the *first Word* and answering *Objections*, before they are made, looks as if He was conscious to Himself that the *Peace* was not sound at the Bottom, and stood in need of some *Explanation* to support it. But how hath He attempted to vindicate it? Why, by celebrating his

own excellent Conduct, and abusing *some particular Gentlemen*, whom He is pleased not to like, in so licentious a Manner, that nothing can add to his *Vanity* and *Insolence*, but endeavouring, by his Interest in any Place, or in any Manner, to prohibit the same Freedom of writing on the *other Side*.

I hope that He will have so much Modesty, at least, as not to make any such Attempt after *This*; and I think it a very seasonable Opportunity to put the World in mind of the great Usefulness of the *Liberty of the Press*; for if any *Restraint* should be laid upon it, by *his Means*, (and I believe no *other Man* will ever attempt it) they cannot expect any Accounts of *political Affairs*, of any Kind whatsoever, besides such *partial* and *scandalous Glosses* as That, which is now before us.

The *Observer* seems very unhappy, at his first setting out, in the Description he gives of *those Men*, who, as he supposes, will find Fault with *this Treaty*. He tells us *they are like those Wretches that live upon dangerous Coasts, whose Profit arises from Wrecks; who subsist by the Misfortunes and Calamities of their Fellow Creatures; and whose Affliction is consequently an happy Presage of Calm and Serenity*. I say this Description does not seem to suit *Those*, to whom he applies it, so well as it does a *great, overgrown, wicked Minister*, who hath enrich'd himself by the Spoils of a Nation; whose Power subsists by the *Misfortunes and Calamities* of his Fellow Subjects; and whose *Downfall* would consequently be an happy Omen of the *Prosperity of his Country*.

He insinuates, afterwards, that the Arguments of these wicked Men, his *Opposers*, have made no small Impression at the Court of *Madrid*. How strange and, at the same Time, how melancholy a Consideration is it, that such a *mean, inconsiderable and despicable Faction*, as They have been often represented, should have any Influence in *foreign Courts*; or be able to give the
least

least Obstruction to *Him* and his *Associates*, in their wise and notable Negotiations?

He is likewise full of his Apprehensions, that the Suggestions of this same mean and *inconsiderable Cabal* will have some Influence on the Counsels of *Vienna*; and says, *We may most certainly expect that They will now apply their whole Skill and Invention to find out such Reasons as may best serve to divert his Imperial Majesty from becoming a Party to these Engagements.*

Now, in my humble Opinion, this Work is already done to their Hands by the *Observer* Himself, who hath furnish'd his *Imperial Majesty*, in this very Pamphlet, with ample Reasons for not acceding to the *Treaty*, as I shall presently shew; and, in the mean Time, I will leave the Reader to judge whether charging so great a Prince with *Ingratitude* and *Breach of Faith* (as this *Writer* does by a very strong Implication) is the most probable Method of making Him our *Friend*.

He cannot forget surely how such Usage, from *Him* and his *Creatures*, upon all Occasions, was resented at *Vienna* some Years ago. Nay, He seem'd to be sensible of it last Winter, and began to soften his Language towards *that Court*, and bestow'd the same Kind of Rhetorick on their *catholick Majesties*; but now, it seems, Things have taken another Turn, by his *wise* and *steady Measures*, and the *Emperor* must submit to be abused in the same Manner again.

But to return—The Reasons of his Apprehensions that this little, *powerful Cabal of his Adversaries* will use all their Interest at the Court of *Vienna* to divert his *Imperial Majesty* from acceding to the *Treaty*, are contained in the following Words. *It cannot certainly be expected that the same Persons, who were so much alarmed at the Negotiations, and apprehended so many ill Consequences to Themselves from the Conclusion of a provisional Treaty, should shew less Concern and Disappointment upon the News of a solid and lasting Peace;*

or

or should be left alert and active in their Endeavours to prevent its becoming general.

This is equally candid with that Character, which He gives of *those Persons*, in the preceding Pages, and equally probable with the rest of his Consequences. How *solid and lasting* this Peace is like to be, We may judge from his own *Observations* on the chief Articles of it; but I must first take Notice that *those Persons*, who cannot possibly reap any Advantage from the highest Taxes, must be very fond of parting with their Money, if They are less desirous of seeing them diminish'd, by a *solid and lasting Peace*, than some *other Persons*, who may heap up farther Riches by them.

I am well appriz'd, from past Experience, that even exposing the vile Sophistry of *this Pamphlet* may be called *furnishing the EMPEROR with Arguments against acceding to the Treaty*, and *endeavouring to prevent its becoming general*. To This I shall only reply, once for all, that it is a *Topic*, which may be equally urged, at any Time, against any *bad Measures*, or *wicked Ministers* whatsoever; and therefore I am sure that the sensible Part of the World, who do not hold an implicit Faith in *Ministers*, will lay no Manner of Stress upon it, let it be repeated and echoed back upon us never so often, or strongly, by *this Gentleman* and his *Associates*.

Having made our Way thus far through the *Billingsgate* Rubbish of his *Introduction*, We come to the Substance and Marrow of his *Book*; and here, perhaps, it will be said that He does not *fight against the Air*, since He begins his *Observations with taking Notice of some false Insinuations*, which these same wicked Persons have already let fall with Regard to this Treaty, which they could not, says He, at that Time have possibly seen, and of the Consents of which they would persuade us that the Directors of a Company, extremely interested in the Consequences of this Treaty, were equally ignorant;

ignorant; though those Directors had seen and approved them.

Can any Thing be more ridiculous than this Paragraph, which carries along with it a full Answer to the Charge it contains? For who could possibly apprehend that *these Directors had seen the Contents of the Treaty, at that Time; or were not equally ignorant of them with all other Englishmen, who are equally interested, at least, in the Consequences of it?* Who could imagine (till this *worthy Gentleman* was pleased to inform us of it) that the *Managers of a monied Corporation* should be more favoured than all the rest of his Majesty's landed and trading Subjects; or even than the whole Body of the *Proprietors* of this Company itself, in whose Name They expressed their *Approbation* of it?

We all know in what Manner such Things are often carried; and if it should appear that this Obsequiousness to *ministerial Purposes* was drawn from them by the indirect Methods of any of their *Managers*, without having the same Knowledge communicated to them, We hope They will shew their Resentment of it at the ensuing Election of *Directors*, and not suffer themselves to be led by *any Men*, who make a Property of them upon every Occasion.

It hath likewise been hinted, quoth the Observer, that the securing of the Succession of Don Carlos in Italy, by Spanish Garrisons, (which makes one of the principal Stipulations of the new Treaty) is a Step, that may prove dangerous to the Peace of Europe; and that the Emperor, in particular, is obliged in Interest to prevent its taking Effect.

In the first Place, I appeal to the World *who* were the first, that not only *hinted* but expatiated very largely on the Danger, which Europe had Reason to apprehend from the Prospects and growing Grandeur of *Don Carlos*? Did not the *Author of the Enquiry* begin it three Years ago; and was it not very strenuously

ously insisted upon last Winter, by this very *Writer* himself and his *Advocates*, that this *Succession*, upon any Terms, was absolutely *contrary to the Interest of all Europe*, and particularly to *That of Great Britain*. But since he hath now thought fit to alter his Note, for *wise and steady Reasons*, so far as even to affirm that instead of being *contrary to the Interests of all Europe*, there can be *no solid Objection made to it*; and since the *Succession of Don Carlos in Italy is made one of the principal Stipulations in the new Treaty* (as He, for once, very justly observes) I will give this Affair a particular Examination.

I shall not say any Thing, in this Place, concerning the Equity of disposing of *Dominions*, to which we cannot pretend any sort of *Right*, because it may seem ridiculous to turn *Moralist*, and discuss a Point of *Ca-suistry*, where *Politicks* are concerned.

Besides, the *Observer* hath told us that whatever Objections might be made to *this Succession*, it is already *consented to and established by the Quadruple Alliance*; though if it should be allowed to be *bad* in itself, I do not see how This will mend it, or that *one false Step* is any Justification of *another*; especially if it could be avoided. And I shall leave it to this nice *Distinguisher* to shew any Reason why we could not depart from *one Point* of the *Quadruple Alliance* as well as *another*; or whether, indeed, the *whole* of it is not vacated by this *Contravention*; especially as far as it relates to *Don Carlos*, and the *Emperor*.

However, I will consider this Affair in a *political View* only, and as it relates to the *Quadruple Alliance*; by which it was stipulated that the *Duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia*, in Case the *present Dukes* should die without *Issue Male*, should descend to the *eldest Son* of her *catholic Majesty* and his *Heirs Male*. It was likewise stipulated, by *this Treaty*, that *those Dominions* should never be in the Possession of any Prince, who shall at the same time be *King of Spain*; that

no King of Spain shall ever take upon Himself the Guardianship of such Prince; and farther that, during the Lives of the present Possessors of those Dominions, neither the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Spain, or the Prince before nominated to *that Succession*, shall be permitted to introduce any Troops of their own Nation, or of any other Nation in *their Pay*, into those Dominions, nor to put any Garrisons into any of the Towns, Ports, Citadels, or Fortresses belonging to them; but that for securing this eventual Succession, upon the Demise of the present Possessors, the principal Places of those Dominions should be garrison'd with a Body of *Swiss Forces*, not exceeding *ten thousand Men*, to be paid by Germany, France, and Great-Britain in equal Proportions; or that, if the *Swiss Cantons* could not conveniently raise such a Number of Troops soon enough for that Service, his Britannick Majesty was to furnish them, with the Consent of the other contracting Parties, till the *Swiss Troops* could be raised and take Possession of those Places.

Whereas it is stipulated by the present Treaty, *that the introducing of Garrisons into the Places of Leghorn, Porto-ferraio, Parma and Placentia, to the Number of six thousand Men of his CATHOLICK MAJESTY'S TROOPS, and in his PAY, shall be EFFECTUATED WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME.*

The Observer spends several Pages in justifying this Stipulation in Favour of *Don Carlos*, and pronounces the Court of Vienna to be very ill advised, and very unjust, or unreasonable, if they refuse to accede to the Treaty of Seville, on Account of *this Variation* from the *Quadruple Alliance*, by the Introduction of *Spanish*, instead of *Swiss Garrisons*, into the fortified Places of *Tuscany and Parma*.

Though I am not one of Those, whom our great Author hath represented so averse to the general Tranquility of Europe, as to suggest Arguments, which may

may prevent its taking Effect; yet I must beg Leave to express my own Apprehensions, that his *Imperial Majesty* may think it somewhat derogatory to his *Honour*, to permit the Succession to so considerable a Fief of the *Empire* to be disposed of, not only without his *Consent* and, in the Manner of it, contrary to a *solemn Treaty*, of which he was a *principal Party*; but likewise with an Air of *Triumph* over him, and as an Expedient to dissolve an *Alliance*, which hath been represented so *advantageous* to him.

His suffering himself to be disunited from so *beneficial an Alliance*, rather than come into *this Project*, is likewise an Argument to me, that he thought it contrary to his *Interest*.

But as this Introduction of *Spanish Troops* is to be EFFECTUATED *without Loss of Time*, let us consider how far this Variation from the *Quadruple Alliance* may affect *Great-Britain*, and the general Tranquility of *Europe*, proposed to be established by *this Treaty*.

I think it is allowed by *this Writer* and his *Advocates*, as well as others, that our present Circumstances require a *speedy and solid Peace*; but I am afraid it will be found, that *this Variation* is very far from tending to facilitate that good End; for however averse the *present Dukes of Tuscany and Parma*, and all the *Italian Princes*, might be to have their Dominions disposed of in this Manner, even after their *Death*; yet they might, perhaps, think fit quietly to submit to it, upon the Terms of the *Quadruple Alliance*, when they saw all the chief Powers of *Europe* concurring in a Resolution to that Purpose; but when these Terms are varied from *neutral* to *Spanish Troops*, contrary to the Inclination of *one* of the contracting Parties, they will certainly endeavour to oppose it; and I confess *this Variation* does not seem immaterial to *Them*, for the following Reasons;

First,

First, the present Dukes might think their *Persons* to be safer, whilst their Towns were garrison'd by Forces, which would not join in any Violence upon them, without the Concurrence of *three neutral Kings*, who had no Reason to be so impatient for the speedy Accession of *Don Carlos*, as their *catholick Majesties* seem to be.

Secondly, *neutral Garrisons* would certainly lie under a less Temptation to meddle, *directly or indirectly*, in *Affairs of the political, oeconomic and civil Government*.

If therefore, for these, or any other Reasons, the *present Possessors* should refuse Admittance to the *Spanish Troops*; and his *Imperial Majesty*, upon their Application, should think fit to assist them in it, either for just or unjust Reasons; I leave the World to judge, whether *this Treaty* hath procured us that *only good End* of all our late tedious Negotiations, which we have so long desired, and hath been so often promised us; I mean a *general and lasting Peace*; for if we must be involved in a *War*, as *this Writer* seems to prognosticate, it is of but little Consequence with *what Prince* it begins; and I must put him in Mind, that though a *Peace with Spain* may be more advantageous to a *trading Nation* than a *Peace with the Emperor*; yet a *War with the Emperor* would be, for the same Reason, more burthensome and impracticable to a *maritime Power*, than a *War with Spain*.

I have heard it often alledged in Conversation, that it is not in the Power of his *Imperial Majesty* to prevent the Execution of *this Treaty*; but this Allegation has been sufficiently confuted by the Author of the *Enquiry*, who told us that the *Emperor alone was capable of disturbing it*, as well as by the Assertion of the *Writer* before us, who says that had that *Succession been left open*, all Italy, considering the *Strength and Influence of those Dominions*, which the *Emperor hath already got Possession of in that Country*, must in all

Probability have fallen into his Hands; or at least into such Hands, as must have had an entire Dependence on him. In another Place he says, that the Emperor can be under no Apprehensions of Danger on this Head, having constantly, in the Neighbourhood of those Garrisons, a Number of Troops more than sufficient to awe and check them, should they offer to exceed the Bounds prescribed them.

My Inference from This is, that if his Imperial Majesty hath such an Influence in Italy, that he could have possessed himself of these *Duchies*, in opposition to all the *Italian Princes*, in case this *Succession* had been left open; or is even strong enough to awe and check these Troops, when put in possession of the fortified Towns; he may certainly give a great Opposition to their *Admittance*, when joined with the Wealth and Power of the two *Dukes*, and perhaps of some other *Italian Princes*; so that it is not new the only *Question*, whether this Variation will make that Engagement more effectual, or not. It is likewise a Question, whether such a Violence upon those *Princes*, as to put them and their *Dominions* under the Power of Spanish Troops, may not spirit up an Opposition to it. If neutral Troops were to be put in Garrison, the Engagement would have been equally effectual; more consistent, perhaps, with his Imperial Majesty's Honour; and, without Doubt, less disagreeable to the present Possessors.

The *Observer* advances another Argument in Defence of this Variation, which he seems to think an undeniable Reason for our consenting to it; and That is, that it frees us from an Engagement we were before under, of paying one third Part of the Expence, which would have been requisite for maintaining neutral Garrisons in the *Duchies* of Tuscany and Parma.

I am glad to see any Appearances, in this Gentleman, of frugal Designs; but I doubt This may prove the Occasion of much more Expence; for if it should happen to be the Case, that neutral Garrisons might have been

been amicably admitted, and that *Spanish Troops* will be opposed; we may lie under a Necessity of maintaining above seven times that Number of Men in *Germany*.

And yet this *frugal Scheme* worked so strongly upon him, that he says *any Minister would have deserved the severest Punishment, who should have advised the King to have deferred, for one Month only, the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of Spain, for the sake of THIS ALTERATION*; though it may be the Means of involving us in a *War*, instead of procuring us a *general and lasting Peace*. But I can easily see the Reason which might induce a *Minister* not to defer it, *for one Month only*; especially towards the Conclusion of the Year.

Thus stands the Case of *this Variation from the Quadruple Alliance*, with Regard to the *Emperor* and the present Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*. Let us now consider how it stands with Relation to *Spain*.

By *this Treaty* we have stipulated not only to EFFECTUATE the Introduction of *Spanish Troops*, but likewise to establish *this Succession* and guaranty it, for ever, against any Opposition, in such Manner that thereby it may rest secure and exempt from all Events.

If therefore the *Emperor*, in Conjunction with the *Italian Princes*, or any other Powers, should think fit to oppose it, we cannot avoid entering into a War with Him and his Allies; and if we should happen to fail of Success by coercive Methods, after perhaps a great Number of expensive Campaigns, the *Spaniards* might complain of the Non-execution of the Treaty, in one of its most important Articles, and vacate the whole, upon plausible Allegations that however we might have attempted, we had not, according to the Tenor of the Treaty, EFFECTED the Introduction of *Don Carlos* into *Italy*.

It is likewise very observable that there is no Provision in *this Treaty*, as there was in the *Quadruple Alliance*,

lyance, to prevent the Conjunction of *these Dominions*; upon any Contingency, with the *Crown of Spain*.

And here, I think, I have much better Grounds than the Author of the *Enquiry* had, to assert that there must be some *secret Treaty* besides *That*, which is made *publick*; for though it is stipulated that the Introduction of *Spanish Troops* into *Italy*, for securing the Succession of *Don Carlos*, shall be *effectuated without Loss of Time*; yet no Provision is made in *what Manner*, and at *whose Expence*, they are to be carried thither.

This is one Reason, amongst many others, which induces me to believe that there are some *secret Articles* not yet produced; especially, since we have lately heard Distinctions made, by *this Gentleman* himself, between a *publick, ostensible Treaty* (as He phrased it) and a *private Treaty*, kept in Reserve. This puts me in mind of the *exoterical* and *esoterical* Doctrines of the antient Philosophers; the former of which they propagated amongst the *Vulgar*, and kept the latter for *learned Men* only, and *private Conversation* amongst themselves. I am apt to believe that our *modern Statesmen* have built upon this Foundation, and borrowed their Method of Negotiating from the Principles of *these Philosophers*; since, upon examining most of our *late Treaties*, we shall find very few, which are not restrained by some *private, or esoterical Articles*.

Since therefore such liberal Concessions have been made to *Spain*, let us next enquire what Advantages are granted in Return to *Great Britain*, with regard to our *Trade and Possessions*, which have been brought under Dispute.

- Our *Author* tells us, that all *former Treaties and Conventions* being confirmed by the *first Article*, we have a very full *Acknowledgment, on the Part of Spain, of our Right to Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca*; but, as the Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to the *former* have

have been founded on the Convention at *Madrid* in the Year 1721, some People may be apprehensive that they will renew that Claim, upon a proper Occasion; since this *Convention* is confirmed, as well as any other, by *that Article*.

We must therefore, in such a Case, rely upon the *second Article*, in which the King of *Spain* guaranties all his Majesty's *Kingdoms, States and Dominions*; and I hope, with our *Author*, that *Gibraltar* is secured to us, under one of these Denominations, *beyond all possibility of Doubt, or Cavil*. But I think I may safely accept of his *Defiance*, to *shew in what manner they could be more effectually secured*; which they most undoubtedly would have been, either by a *specifick Renunciation* of all Right and Pretensions to them for the future; or by using his own Terms, *foreign Acquisitions, or Possessions*. I mention the Term *Possessions*, because our *Ministers* seemed to be sensible of the Comprehensiveness of it, by inserting it in the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the making use of it, in the *Articles of Seville*, would have contained a full Acknowledgment of our Right to *those Places*; and if the *Spaniards* had a sincere Intention to confirm *that Right*, they would have suffered it to be expressed in Terms as clear as *Those*, in favour of *Don Carlos*. If they were not *sincere*, but had some *Reserve*, I am afraid that a different Construction of so important an Article will render the Peace less *solid and lasting* than the *Observer* promises, and every good *Englishman* hath Reason to wish.

The other Point, which concerns us, relates to the Re-establishment of our just Privileges in *Commerce*, and the Compensation due to our *Merchants* for their *Sufferings* during the Rupture; which are left to be settled by *Commissaries* of both Nations, who are to assemble at the Court of *Spain*, and to finish their Enquiries within the Space of *three Years*.

There seems to be some room for *three Objections* upon this Head.

First, as to the *Place*; which some People think would have been more properly fixed at *London*; where our Merchants, for whose Relief *this Commission* was principally intended, could with much less *Trouble and Expence* have produced the *authentick Proofs* and *Vouchers* for their Losses, and reply to any *Objections*, that may be made to their *Demands*.

The next is with respect to the *Condition*, upon which this Compensation is to be made; and That is, *that the Ships, Merchandize and Effects shall not have been taken, or seized upon account of unlawful Commerce*, without specifying, or explaining what shall be deem'd *unlawful Commerce*; which hath ever admitted Matter of Dispute between the *Spaniards* and the *English*.

The third Objection is to the *Length of Time* assigned to this *Enquiry*; which I find some Merchants apprehend may, in a great Measure, invalidate *that Stipulation*; for the *Spanish Ministers* cannot be ignorant of the *Italian Proverb*, *Chi guadagna Tempo, guadagna Toutto*; *He that gains Time, gains every Thing*.

These *Commissioners* are likewise to discuss and decide his *catbolick Majesty's* Pretensions to the Restitution of the Ships taken in the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1718; an Article, which may be so cast up by *Spanish Accomprants*, as to over-balance the Account of the *British Merchants*, by *several hundred thousand Pounds*.

The *Observer* tells us, *that there was the less Pretence for declining this Discussion, because we were sure it would, upon Examination, appear that it was the Fault of the Spaniards only, that those Ships were not put into their Possession*; from whence he would infer, that they cannot expect any *Satisfaction* for them; though he tells us himself, that at the Time those Ships were offer'd to be delivered at *Portmahon*, they were

were in such a *decay'd Condition*, that, upon the Refusal of the *Spaniards* to accept of them, they were, by the Order of the Governor, *sunk in the main Sea*. It is therefore reasonable to presume, that they will expect *Reparation* for them; or why should they have insisted on a *Stipulation* to that Purpose?

The *Observer* farther says, that the *Spaniards* found their Claim to *this Restitution* upon the *Treaty* of 1721; the *very same Treaty*, upon which they likewise found their Pretensions to *Gibraltar*; the *very same Treaty*, which we concluded privately at *Madrid*, whilst we were *Mediators* between that Court and *Vienna*.

As *this Convention* therefore of 1721, (which, perhaps, it were to be wished had never been made) is confirmed by the *first Article* of the *present Treaty*, I do not see why the *Spaniards* may not insist upon the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, by Virtue of *this Treaty* (if there is any such *private Article* in it, as they alledge) as well as the Restitution of *Ships* taken in the *Mediterranean*; unless it be allow'd, that *this Article*, with Regard to the Case of *Gibraltar*, is derogated from, in the *second Article*, under the Words, *Kingdoms, States and Dominions*; which I hope will occasion no future Dispute.

I had almost forgot to take Notice of *one Article*, which I confess I was somewhat surprized to find in the *Treaty*, or at least express'd in *that manner*; I mean the *third*, where it is said that the MINISTERS of their *Britannick*, and *most christian Majesties*, having PRETENDED (as it is in the *Original*) that the *Treaties* of *Vienna*, between his *Imperial Majesty* and the King of *Spain*, contain'd an Infraction of the *Treaties* of *Commerce*, antecedent to the Year 1725; his *catholic Majesty* declares, as he had before declared, *that he never had any SUCH MEANING*. I say, I was somewhat surprized to see an *Article* expressed in *this Manner*; because it may be construed into a Reflection on the
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Understanding or Integrity of *some Persons* of great Importance; and considering the CORDIALITY, *with which his catholick Majesty entered into this Treaty*, I cannot doubt that he would have suffered *this Article* to be worded in *other Terms*.

Whether the *Treaty*, lately concluded at *Seville*, be *just, honourable and advantageous* or not; I must leave the World to judge whether *this Observer* hath proved it to be so; but I am very ready to agree with him in acknowledging his *Majesty's Goodness* to us, and that the *Interests* of Great-Britain *had the chief Place in his Thoughts*.

I know very little of the Disputes between *his Majesty* and the King of *Prussia*; but if *that Prince* hath forcibly taken away any of his Majesty's *German Subjects*, he hath certainly a just Right to *Reprisals*; as I think our *Merchants* had for the *Ships* unlawfully taken from them by the *Spaniards*.

Neither do I know of any *Britons*, who now look upon the King of *Prussia* as their *Hero*, and could not formerly prevail upon themselves to treat him with common Decency; but I remember very well that *some Men*, who now set him forth as a *weak, inconsiderable Prince*, represented him, about four Years ago, as a very potent and profitable *Ally*.

I am as much at a Loss as *this Author*, to see how it can be the Duty of any Englishman to encourage foreign Powers to invade the King's German Dominions, and to excite the neighbouring Princes to oppress a People, merely because they acknowledge the same Sovereign that we do. I scorn, as much as *he*, to represent *that Country* barren and despicable; though I cannot help thinking the *British Dominions* much more considerable, both to *his Majesty* and *Us*, and deserving the first Place in our Thoughts. The former hath certainly the common Claim of all Protestant Nations to our Favour and good Wishes; but how far we are obliged, under the Name of Protection, to cage our
selves

selves in a *War* upon that Account, I must leave to the Decision of the *Act of Settlement*, and to *that Way of thinking* upon it, (as our *Author* expresses himself) in which the Parliament shall declare themselves to be.

I cannot conclude, without taking Notice of the Disingenuity of *this Writer*, in putting Cases and pressing Arguments of a very *high* and *personal Nature*, which cannot be answered without such a free Examination, as may be thought *improper* and *disrespectful*. The Words of the late Earl of *Hallifax*, when *Minister of State*, upon a Subject of *this Kind*, are very candid and applicable to the present Occasion; *viz. that it is not just to press an Argument, which puts another Man in Pain, when he goes to answer it.*

But This hath been the constant mean Artifice of our *Author* and his *Advocates*. When we offer to argue with them, *their Cause* is always the *King's Cause*, and *their Measures* must be the *King's Measures*; which is sometimes true, in *one Sense*, as they are carried on by *his Authority*, and in *his Name*; but I must beg Leave to insist upon it, that *Ministers*, by the Constitution of this Nation, are answerable for *all their Measures*, though transacted by the *King's Authority*; and that they ought to be punished for *bad Treaties*, though concluded under His *royal Sanction*.

I hope I have preserved a proper Decency of Language through these Sheets; but if I should be thought to have let fall some Expressions with too much Warmth, they ought to be imputed to that Virulence of Style and Manner, with which our *Author* hath thought fit to treat this Subject.

When the Reader considers how very lately the *Treaty* and *Observations* were published, he will conclude that these Thoughts upon them must be very sudden, and thrown together without any Order, or Method. I need not therefore ask his Indulgence for any

any Inaccuracies of *Style*, or little Mistakes, as to the *Reasoning*, or *Facts*, into which I may have unwarily fallen, and shall be ready to acknowledge upon Conviction.

I thought some immediate Antidote necessary to expel the Poison, which it was the Design of *this Pamphlet* to spread through the Kingdom. This was the Occasion of my writing in so much Haste; and I make no Doubt that the same Subject will be soon treated by a much more *able* and *masterly Hand*.

A.



THE

THE
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
TREATY
OF
SEVILLE
EXAMINED.



Printed in the Year 1730.



THE
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
TREATY
OF
SEVILLE
EXAMINED.

 Shall not treat the *choleric Author of these Observations* so ill as He deserves to be used. But let him not mistake my Meaning. I am One of that Number of *Britons*, who bear him no *Esteem* in the midst of his *imaginary Success*; not entertain the least *Fear* of him in the midst of his *real Power*.

The *Lenity* I shall exercise, proceeds from pure *Contempt*. What other Sentiment can *He* create, who sends an empty Declamation into the World (for such I shall instantly prove it to be, in all its Parts) only to shew us what we knew before; that he *blusters most* when he is *most afraid*; and that if his Enemies intend to *turn his Head*, they are in a very fair Way of succeeding?

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This manner of Treatment of him will, I am sure, be approved by *those two Gentlemen* in particular, against whom he is thought more immediately to direct his *Billingsgate* Dialect. As they may defy him to maintain what he has the Front to assert, they have a Right to despise his *Invektive*. This Weapon rarely does Hurt to any but Those, who wield it; and surely if ever it is blunt and harmless, it must be so in the Hands of *One*, to whom Honours have not been able to communicate Dignity, nor Power Authority; to whom long Habits at Court have not been able to give so much as the Manners of a Gentleman, nor long Experience in Business the Knowledge of a Minister.

Leaving him therefore to wallow in that Mire, from which he can never be washed, I proceed to the Examination of his last notable Performance; in which I shall have the less to do, because the Author of *the short View of the State of Affairs* hath anticipated many Things; which I should otherwise have been obliged to mention; and to that *Treatise* I take the Liberty of referring Those, who are desirous to enter into a more minute Detail than I shall trouble the Publick with at this Time.

The first thing, which strikes me, is the Difficulty of guessing for *whom* a great Part of this Pamphlet, which I examine, was written. I may venture to pronounce, that it could not be written for the Publick; nor indeed for any one Person, who regards the Publick enough to hearken to it, and to be informed by it.

This Author hath been accustomed very much to flatter himself by the Favours, which *Fortune* hath bestow'd, in her Wantonness, upon him; and yet he could hardly hope to persuade the Generality of *Men*, that the Point laboured the last Year by *Those*, who oppose him, (and who, for that very Reason, have the Publick on their Side) was to furnish SPAIN with Arguments

guments to justify seizing and detaining the South Sea Company's Effects and the Depredations upon our Merchants in the west Indies. He could hardly hope This; because he knew that the Publick was daily a Witness to the loud Complaints, made by these Persons, of the *Seizures, Detentions and Depredations*, which our Merchants suffered, without being defended, or having the Means of doing themselves Justice put into their Hands. The *Papers*, writ on this Side of the Question, are still in the Hands of every one; and he, who can read, may see, in flat Contradiction to this *modest Person*, that his *Adversaries*, who wished that Britain had been kept out of *new and unnecessary Broils*, were equally zealous that she should extricate herself by *such Means* as became a powerful and a warlike Nation. Very far from *furnishing Arguments* to justify the Proceedings of the Spaniards against us, They, and They alone, were desirous and even pressing that the Spaniards might be obliged by *Force of Arms* (the only Way, which could then be taken) to acknowledge the Injustice of their Proceedings; to make ample and certain Reparation; and to sue for *Peace*.

The Publick knows extremely well, if *this Writer* does not, how to distinguish between those Advantages, which the Blunders of one Ministry may give to another in *Negotiation*, and those just Reasons, for which alone it is lawful for one Nation to commence a *War* with another.

Again; is it possible *this Author* could hope to persuade Mankind, without the least colour of Proof, that Those, who write against him, *omitted no Arguments, which might provoke, or encourage the King of Prussia to a Rupture?* This he charges directly and positively upon them, as well as suggesting to the King's Allies, *that they were not obliged to take part in this Quarrel, nor were at all concerned in the Consequences of it.*

As provoking as this Charge is, it is at the same time so silly, and in the Nature of Things so void of the faintest Probability, that I should ask the Reader's Pardon for dwelling in the least upon it, if it did not give me an Occasion to take Notice of something else, which cannot be inculcated too often.

I know of no Man among *this Author's Adversaries*, (that is, the *Publick*) who gives himself any Concern about these *northern Quarrels*; except That, which arises from an Apprehension that *Great Britain* may be concerned in them, by Virtue of some of those *innumerable Treaties and Guaranties*, into which we have enter'd within a few Years; or by some new Device of those *profound Statesmen*, who have been the principal Authors of these Engagements. Far from apprehending *that they should be driven from the Congress at Soissons*; far from resolving to take Refuge in *That at Brunswick*; I dare assure this *Observer*, that the *Publick* knew well enough in whose Closet the Scene of Negotiation was laid, and never expected that any Thing, which deserved Attention, would be transacted at *Soissons*. I dare likewise assure him that the same *Publick* is as little *alerte* (to use his own Words) about what passes at *Brunswick*; where nothing perhaps may be done, and where most certainly nothing ought to come under Debate, which hath any Relation to *Great Britain*; so false is it that any Persons here have encouraged *foreign Powers to invade his Majesty's German Dominions*, or have excited the neighbouring Princes to oppress a People, merely because they acknowledge the same Sovereign that we do. Such a Design would be so abominably flagitious, that I should suspect no Man to be capable of forming it, if I did not meet in *this Writer* with one, who is capable of supposing it, and of a Crime, almost as great as the Design itself; That of charging it on *innocent Men*.

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But I can readily agree that the *Publick* may have been told, and that the *Publick* may think (and both surely with the strongest Reason imaginable) that nothing could be more melancholy than to see a *new War* break out, or to be brought even into Danger of it, upon *such Motives* as have appeared to make the King of *Prussia* assemble his Army last Year, and to continue his Preparations still; and such as gave our Monarch so glorious an Opportunity of shewing his own *personal Resolution*. I can agree that the same Persons may be apt to think and call it an insufferable Grievance, if *Great Britain* is engaged in such a Quarrel; and if those Swords, which rested peaceably in their Scabbards, whilst our Merchants were plundered, and our Nation insulted by the *Spaniards*, should be drawn for the Sake of a few Cartloads of *Hay*, or for some *irregular Practices in lusting, or detaining a few sorry Peasants*. Nay, I can agree that This will be thought and called a Grievance, even if more important, but hitherto unavowed Motives, such as Family Disputes about *Wills* and *Legacies*, or Electoral Disputes about the Execution of *Imperial Commissions*, shall hereafter appear to have been the real Motives of such a Quarrel; and when I have agreed all This, which is all that can be agreed with a due Regard to Truth, let our smart *Observer* make his most of it.

The People of *Hanover* are our Friends. They are *Protestants*. They are Subjects of the same Prince. In all these Respects, far from having that ignoble and wicked Sentiment of *repining at their Quiet*, we ought to wish for their Prosperity; but then they can have no particular Title, in the *last* of these Respects, to claim our *Succour* and *Defence*, even when they are actually invaded; much less to expect that we should maintain a *standing Army* in *Germany* for their Security.

We know very well in what *Way of Thinking the last, as well as the present Parliament, have declared themselves to be upon this Subject* ; and the Engagement to stand by and support his late Majesty against all *Insults and Attacks that any Prince or Power, in Resentment of the just Measures, which his Majesty hath so wisely taken, shall make on any of his Majesty's Territories or Dominions, though not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain* ; I say, *this Engagement* speaks their Sense in very intelligible Terms ; but must every Quarrel, which arises in *Germany*, be out of Hatred to the *Hanover Treaty* ? Can such Motives and Occasions of a War, as I have mentioned above, be said to arise from a Resentment of the Measures taken at that time by his late Majesty, or to be included within *this Engagement* ? If they are said to be so, and if This be once pronounced by that *Voice of Parliament*, which must determine us all, it will certainly be apprehended to follow, that there never can happen any Disturbance in *lower Saxony*, by which we must not be alarm'd ; nor any War there, in which we must not be engag'd. I leave it to the World to judge, if That ever comes to be our Case, what Advantage we may expect to reap from the Situation of our Country, as an Island, or from the present happy Establishment of our Government.

In the mean time, let us hope for better Things, and look on every Man, who labours, (however artfully and insensibly) to introduce the Notion, that we are under any other Obligations of protecting his Majesty's *German Dominions*, than we are under of protecting any other State, (I mean Obligations of *general Interest*, and *particular Compact*) as a Man, who betrays one of the most essential Rights of the *British* Nation, and which we hold by the same Tenure as his Majesty holds his Crown ; the same Act of Parliament, which established the Succession in the *House of Hanover*, having enacted that *in Case the Crown and*
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Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any Person, not being a Native of this Kingdom of England, this Nation shall not be obliged to engage in any War, for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the Consent of Parliament.

Since *this Writer* could not hope to impose on the *Publick*, in the Points I have mentioned, it is vain to guess for *whom* these Parts of his elaborate Work were designed.

Shall we say, that he meant nothing more than to indulge himself in a Fit of *Railing*? Or shall we refine enough to imagine that he might think it requisite to set some glaring Examples of Constructions by *Innuendo*, and to renew, if possible, the Method of condemning Men, not for *what they write*, but for what others affirm that they *meant to write*? He hoped, perhaps, to establish that scandalous Practice, for such it is, of accusing Those, who are Enemies to *Ministers*, as Enemies to the *Crown*; and of representing all Opposition to *their Measures*, as an Opposition to the *Measures of the King*; than which there cannot be, at all times, a greater Injustice to the *Subjects*; nor, for the most Part, a more insolent Reflection on *Majesty*. It would not be strange, if he flatter'd himself that he might succeed in these, and some other noble Designs of the same kind. Could he do so, he would carry a great Point indeed. Such Expedients would answer all the Ends of a *legal Restraint on the Liberty of the Press*; that favourite Project, which hath been so much laboured, both last Year and this, in *Private*; which seems, next to a *Bill of Indemnity*, the best Security for *himself and his Family*; and which he may not think it advisable yet a while to propose in *Publick*.

But whatever his *Views* may be, let us proceed in our Remarks on his *Observations*.

It is not worth while to take much Notice of what he says concerning the Communication of the Contents

tents of the *Treaty of Seville* to the *Directors* of the *South-Sea Company*, before the rest of the Nation. We shall be able to judge whether *these Persons* shewed themselves *better Courtiers*, or *better Merchants*, in the Approbation, which they gave, by the Time we have gone through the Task we have set our selves.

I hasten to the *great Variation* made by the ninth and following Articles of *this Treaty*, from what was settled by the *Quadruple Alliance*; over all which he hath thrown the thinnest Veil, that was ever wrought in any ministerial Loom. A bare Exposition of some few Facts will suffice to set the whole Merits of the Cause in a very clear Light; and These shall be such Facts as it was unpardonable in him not to know, or knowing to conceal; so that he hath but a bad Choice left him to make between *Ignorance* and *Unfairness*.

I shall say nothing of the Faults, which he insinuates may be justly found with the *Quadruple Alliance*, more than This; that it little becomes *Him* to find fault with *any Treaty*; and that the *Quadruple Alliance* will have very different Faces, when it appears by *itself*, and when it is considered as a Consequence of the 2d Article of the *Treaty* between his late Majesty and the Emperor, of the 25th of May, 1716; to which *Treaty*, I believe, he will find the Subscriptions of some of his *Acquaintance*. But let This be passed over for the present.

In the 5th Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*, *Great Britain* and *France* took upon them to declare, in Conjunction with the Emperor, *that the States, or Dutchies possessed at present by the great Duke of Tuscany, and by the Duke of Parma and Placentia, should be acknowledged for the future, and to all Perpetuity, by the contracting Parties, to be masculine Fiefs of the Empire*. It was necessary to assume this Right, in order to dispose of them afterwards. How just, or how polittick This might be, it is no present Business of mine to enquire.

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The *Article* goes on, and the *Emperor* promises, as Head of the *Empire*, that when the Succession to the said Dutchies shall be open, for want of Heirs Male of the Families of *Medicis* and *Farnese*, the Succession of *Don Carlos* shall take Place, and the Entail there specified shall commence. After This, several Stipulations follow, which are plainly directed more, if possible, to secure the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, than the Pretensions of *Don Carlos*. Among other Conditions, it is not only stipulated negatively, that *during the Lives of the present Possessors, or their Male Successors, neither the Emperor, nor the Kings of France and Spain, nor the Prince design'd for this Succession, shall ever introduce any Soldiers of what Nation soever, of their own Troops, or of others in their Pay, into the Countries and Lands of the said Dutchies, or establish Garrisons in the Towns, Ports, Citadels, and Fortresses situated therein*; but it is likewise stipulated positively, that the *Swiss Cantons shall put six thousand Men in Garrison at Leghorn, Porto-ferraio, Parma, and Placentia*.

For what End now are all these Precautions taken? If we will believe the *Observer*, they are only taken to secure the eventual Succession of *Don Carlos*; and upon this Principle he argues, that since the *Emperor* has engaged to make good this Succession, he can have no Reason to oppose a *Variation*, which tends to render *that Engagement more effectual*, and This *without any Diminution of his Dignity, Rights, or Possessions*. But here lies the Fallacy. They are not taken only to secure the eventual Succession of *Don Carlos*; but they are taken as well to secure *la féodalité établie sur les dites Etats en faveur de l'Empereur & de l'Empire*; that is, the Rights of Sovereignty establish'd in the *Emperor and Empire over these States, as over the Fiefs of the Empire*. *Spanish Troops*, no doubt, are very proper to one of these Purposes; and *Imperial Troops* would be just as proper to the other; but neither of them

them can be said to be proper for *both*; and therefore it was provided, that *neither* of them should be trusted to garrison the Places above-mentioned, but that *neutral Troops* should be employ'd; against whom no Party could object.

In Pursuance of his Engagements, taken in the *Quadruple Alliance*, the *Emperor* having obtained the Consent of the *Empire*, grants the *expectative Letters* of the eventual Investiture in Favour of *Don Carlos*. But how does he grant them? Absolutely? By no means. He grants them in Conformity to the whole fifth Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*, and not otherwise; *in conformitate præmemorati integri Articuli quinti, & non aliter*. He makes the Observation of this whole fifth Article a Condition, *sine qua non*, and declares that if it be not observed, neither *He* nor the *Empire* will, or can be bound, *ad permittendam nominatorum Ducatum & Statuum possessionem teneri, nec velle nec posse*.

In this Manner were the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, and the Succession of *Don Carlos* settled and confirmed. Upon this Foot they have remained ever since; and whatever Desire the Court of *Spain* may have had to make Alterations in this Establishment, yet we may see that the Court of *Vienna* hath been determined to admit of none. But I am justified in saying, that what the *Spaniards* could not obtain of the *Emperor* (even at a Time when they made with him an Alliance he had so much Reason to be fond of making with them) they have obtained of *Us* and *France*, without the Consent of the *Emperor* and *Empire*. By the Plenitude of our Power, we erected *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* into *Imperial Fiefs*. I say we erected; because many strong, and perhaps some unanswerable Reasons are urged to shew, that they are not *such* in themselves. Now we have, by the same Plenitude of Power, given the whole Security, and a kind of Independency to the *Vassal*, and taken away from the
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the *Lord* the Advantage of that Expedient, which effectually provided for the Performance of the Conditions he had exacted, without putting it in his Power to evade the Engagements he had taken.

Will not the Question turn very strong against *Those*, who ask why the *Emperor* should take Offence at this *Variation*, if he intended to make effectual his Engagement in Favour of *Don Carlos*? Will it not be asked, why this *Variation* has been made, if nothing more is privately stipulated in *Treaties*, or *separate Articles*, than what hath been already agreed to; and if the Court of *Spain* intends to make effectual the Engagements on their Part, and on the Part of the *Infanto*?

To say, as the *Observer* says, that this *Variation* cannot justify, in Reason and good Sense, his Imperial Majesty's not consenting to it, unless he can shew that he may be prejudiced by this Alteration, is a plain Concession that if his Imperial Majesty can shew This, then the *Variation* will justify his not consenting to it. Now this Concession gives up the whole Cause; tho' the *dogmatical Gentleman* hath so little Knowledge, or Reason and good Sense, that He did not perceive it; for nothing is more obvious than that the *Emperor*, and *Empire* too, may shew that They are prejudic'd by the *Alteration*; unless We will say what I believe no Man in the World (except *this Writer*, and a *near Relation* of his) is capable of saying; that when a *mutual Security* is given and accepted by *two Parties*, for making good a Bargain, this Security may be taken from *one* of the Parties against his Consent, and the Benefit of it be wholly applied to the *other*, and yet no Prejudice be done to the *former*.

But, perhaps, to the Sense of *this Injury* (for such it will be called) the Remembrance of *another* may be added in the Councils of *Vienna*; and the Prejudice done to the Rights of the *Emperor* and *Empire*, by the Treaty of *Seville*, may be aggravated by recalling the

the Prejudice done to these Rights, by the same contracting Powers, in a Treaty of *defensive Alliance* made at *Madrid* in 1721. *Great Britain* and *France* were then the *Mediators* between his *Imperial* Majesty and the *Catholic* King. The *Quadruple Alliance* was the Ground-work of the Negotiations of *Cambray*; and yet these *Mediators* privately took Engagements to support the Duke of *Parma*, by granting Him a *particular Protection*; although the Demands of this Duke made one of the principal Differences, upon which They were to *mediate*; and altho' the very first *Article* of these Demands declares the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* to hold of the *Pope*, in as express Terms as the fifth *Article* of the *Quadruple Alliance* had declared them to be *masculine Fiefs of the Empire*. This Conduct of ours towards the *Emperor* may very probably be compar'd with That, which We have held towards *France*. without whose Concurrence We would not so much as continue our *Mediation*; though every Man, except the *British* Minister at *Paris*, knew that even *France*, in that critical Conjunction, could not complain of it, and that We had the fairest Opportunity imaginable opened to us of acting, with Honour and Advantage, the very same Part between *France* and *Spain*, which *France* hath acted, with so much Honour and Advantage, since that Time, between *Spain* and *Us*.

But farther. Besides these Considerations of *Injury*, or *Prejudice*, which I have mention'd, may not the *Imperial* Ministers take another *Alarm*; and may not That determine them, at any Risk, to oppose the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*? We all know how precious the Possessions in *Italy* are to the *Imperialists*; how much the Point, to which They are arrived in that Country, of Dominion, Power, and Influence, hath been always the chief Object of their Policy. One may say securely, that They sacrificed the *common Cause* to this private Principle in 1707. They would

would have done the same in any other Campaign; and They seem'd to have no other Business in the War. Now will it be at all strange, if They look on the *Variation* made in the *Quadruple Alliance* as a Measure taken to give them a *Rival in that Country*, where They are at present indisputably the *superior Power*? Will not these Garrisons of *Spaniards*, pretended to be placed there for the Security of the eventual Succession of *Don Carlos*, make them look on *Parma, Placentia, Portoferraio, and Leghorn*, as so many Places of Arms, put into the Hands of an *old Enemy*, an *unfaithful Ally*, and a *certain Rival*? May They not apprehend, that neither Pretences nor Means will be wanting, if the Treaty of *Seville* hath its Effect, to introduce greater Numbers of *Spanish*, and even *French* Troops into the Heart of *Italy*, and to serve the *Emperor*, as *Ferdinand the catholic* served *Lewis the twelfth*, in Consequence of the silly *Partition*, to which the *latter* consented?

These Things are all so obvious, that it will be ridiculous to say (and yet very probably it will be said) that the bare Mention of them is a Suggestion, by which the *Councils at Vienna may be influenc'd*. But to proceed, without any Regard to so stupid a Reflection; suppose these Councils should determine to oppose the Introduction of the *Spanish* Garrisons, which are to preserve the *immediate Succession of Don Carlos*; (a very suspicious Term, by the Way, when applied to a Succession hitherto called *eventual*, and certainly in its Nature *contingent*) what a *solid, lasting Peace* will our *Ministers* then have obtain'd for us? If the *Emperor* be as powerful in *Italy*, as the Pamphlet I am answering represents him to be, certain it is that we shall be plunged into the greatest Difficulties. What a *Scene* have we gone through? What a *Conclusion* of it are we likely to make? About twelve Years ago, we broke with *Spain*, in Favour of the *Emperor*. About

four Years ago, we broke with the *Emperor* and *Spain* both. Now we are in Danger of breaking with the *Emperor*, in Favour of *Spain*.

Thus are the Changes in Politicks perpetually rung by *Men*, who assure us that they are extremely *wise*, and that their Measures are extremely *steady*.

I said just now that in the Case of a Breach with the *Emperor*, in Consequence of the *Treaty of Seville*, we shall be plunged into the greatest Difficulties. I think it necessary to explain my Meaning, that it may the better appear whether any Minister would have deserved the severest Punishment, who should have advised the King to have deferred, for one Month only, the Accommodation of our Differences with the Court of Spain, for the sake of this Alteration.

The Author of the *short View of the State of Affairs* observes extremely well, that though a Peace with Spain may be more advantageous to a trading Nation than a Peace with the *Emperor*; yet a War with the *Emperor* would be, for the same Reason, more burthensome and impracticable to a maritime Power, than a War with Spain. Allow me to push the latter Part of this Observation a little farther.

Such a War as we have lately had with Spain, in which all the Blows were received and none given; in which the Instructions and Practice, on one side, were to attack, kill, destroy, plunder; and, on the other, to persuade, to expostulate, to bear (such a War, as I defy this *Observer*, with the Assistance of all his learned Friends, to find an Example of in the whole Extent of antient and modern History) is to be forgot, if possible, and surely not to be supposed. But such a War, as we are able to make on Spain, whenever we please to employ our natural, our maritime Force, can neither be burthensome nor difficult. It will always be in our Power to make the Enemy do more than pay the Charges of it; to revenge our Wrongs, and

and to assert our *Rights*. But a *War* with the *Emperor*, in our present Circumstances, must be a dreadful Object in the sight of every Man, who carries his Views beyond the mean and wicked Point of serving a *present Turn*; for, *first*,

In the *former Case*, we should employ our *natural Strength*, and our *natural born Subjects*. The very Progress of the War would increase our own Strength, and the Expences of it would enrich our own People. Whereas, in the *latter Case*, we must employ an *unnatural Strength*, and *foreign Troops*. We must make a War on the Continent; in which our maritime Force will remain unexerted, and the Expences of which will be swallow'd up in that *bottomless Gulph*, where we have already thrown so immense a Treasure. *Secondly*;

In the *former Case*, we should have Reason to hope for great Advantages to *our selves*, and no Reason to apprehend the Success of *our Allies*. Whereas, in the *latter Case*, if any Advantages are gain'd, they must be gain'd to *others*; none can possibly accrue to *Us*; and if the Success of the *French* against the *Emperor* should be considerable, as it would be of Course, (especially when we opened their Way into the very Heart of *Germany*) we must be reduced to see the Labour of so many Years destroyed, so many Millions spent in vain, and have nothing left but the distant Hopes of another *Marlborough* and another *Hockstadt*.

If the whole Weight of national Vengeance is ever to fall, it ought surely to crush *Those*, who precipitate their Country, by a long Series of Blunders and Mistakes, into such a terrible *Dilemma*, that we cannot observe our *Treaties*, without being exposed to fight against our *general Interests*, and without finding, whenever we return to them, that the *Weakness of our Allies*, and the *Strength of our Enemies* are the Works of our *own Hands*.

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But the *Observer* will say, perhaps, (or some hireling Scribbler will say for him) that we are brought into no Danger of a War with the *Emperor*; that our *wise Ministers* have a Reserve still in their Power, and can make a *Peace* with his *Imperial Majesty*, whenever they please; that to effect it, nothing more will be necessary than to give our *Guaranty* to the Disposition, whatever it be, which his *Imperial Majesty* hath made, or shall make, of the *Austrian Dominions*.

Such an *Expedient* as This would, I doubt not, be soon passed (if the immediate Danger of a *War* pressed upon us) by *Those*, who think of nothing more than how to get over, by *annual Expedients*, the *annual Difficulties* they bring themselves under, without any Regard to the continual Charge and frequent Losses, which the Nation is obliged to support, by their Management; or to the dangerous Consequences of their Measures. But Men, who think on wiser and honest Principles, would look on such a *Guaranty* as a Method of Cure very little preferable to the Disease it self.

His *Imperial Majesty* hath indeed given his *Guaranty* to the Succession of our Crown, established in the present royal Family; but there would be no Parity between such a *Guaranty* as *This*, and the *Guaranty* of a *Succession*, the Nature of which may be known by the *pragmatical Sanctions*; but the Descent of which into any *particular Family* cannot be foreseen.

Who could answer, in this Case, that we might not give our *Guaranty* even to the aggrandizing of *Don Carlos*, which is an Event our *Politicians* have expressed their Apprehensions of in the strongest Terms; although they seem at present a little better reconciled to it?

Who could foresee the numberless Mischiefs, of which such a Disposition of the *Austrian Dominions* might

might be productive, if his *Imperial* Majesty should die without *Issue Male*? What Clashing of Interests might there not be, even in the *Imperial Family*, as well as in every Part of the *Empire*? To get clear of a War with *Spain*, we expose our selves to a War, which may commence in *Italy*, and spread much farther. By the *Expedient*, now supposed, we might get clear of an immediate War in *Italy*; but we should stand in Danger of being involved, a little sooner, or a little later, in a War, which may distract *Germany* as much, and last as long as That of 1618, and kindle its Fires over all *Europe*.

But that we may shew all the Complaisance possible to the *Observer* and his *Associates*, in our Examination of the Consequences of their boasted *Treaty*; let us allow him to say, in this Case, as he very often does in others, the direct contrary of what has been asserted by him. He talks of the Grandeur of the *Emperor*, and the Strength of the *Imperial* Forces in *Italy*. Let us take the *contrary* of This for granted. Let us suppose the Introduction and Establishment of the *Spaniards* in *Italy* to be made with so superior a Power, that the *Emperor* and *Princes* concerned are forced to submit upon *our Terms*, instead of making their *own*; will the Difficulties be all removed? Will all the Inconveniencies to *Great Britain*, with which *this Treaty* may be attended, vanish away? They certainly will not. Our Measures are so *wisely* taken, that the easiest and shortest Manner of *effectuating* them is likewise the easiest and shortest Way to render the *little* we have stipulated for our selves precarious.

It has been objected, with good Reason, to the *Quadruple Alliance*, that we made a *Bubble's Bargain*, when we put *Sicily*, and all that the *Emperor* had to expect from our Friendship, into his Hands immediately; although the reciprocal Part, to be perform'd by *Him*, was to be a Work of Time; and al-

though we had not received Satisfaction from him in *some Points*, about which we were extreamly solicitous.

Now, the *Treaty of Seville* appears to me to make a Bargain of the same kind; with some Difference however to the Disadvantage of *This* lately concluded. When we made and executed the *Quadruple Alliance*, we had not received Satisfaction from the *Emperor* about the Investitures of *Bremen* and *Verdhen*, which I presume are not granted even to this Day; that is, we had not secured a *Point*, which has no Regard to our *national Interest*; at least, no favourable Regard to it, how much soever it may have cost the Nation. But if we are able, according to the Terms of the *Treaty of Seville*, to *execute, without loss of Time, the introducing of Spanish Garrisons into Leghorn, Portoferraio, Parma and Placentia*, we may chance very soon to find the Apprehensions, *lest this so long look'd for Peace should have left our foreign Acquisitions in an uncertain and precarious Condition*, better founded than *those Gentlemen* wish them to be, whose Apprehensions are the Subject of this *trifling Author's* Ridicule. We may very soon find the Reparation promis'd to our *Merchants* evaded, and all our Privileges and Rights of *Commerce* once more violated; that is, we may find that the most immediate and essential Interests of the *British Nation* are not secured by the Terms of the *Treaty*, and are even put into Danger by the *Execution* of it.

We are told, that as the *first Article* renews and confirms all former Treaties and Conventions, *in the same manner as if they were actually inserted Word for Word in This*; it is evident that we have here a very full Acknowledgment on the Part of Spain of our Right to Gibraltar, and the Island of Minorca. But it seems that *This* is not all. The Care of our *Ministers* about this *important Point* hath been still more extensive and exact.

exact. The second Article goes still farther, and by it the King of Spain himself gives his Majesty his Guaranty for all his Kingdoms, States and Dominions, and consequently for the Possession of these very Places.

There is, in this whole Paragraph, such a Mixture of Assurance, Ignorance, and Levity, as cannot, I think, be match'd in any of the Writers even of *this Side*.

Has it not been shewn that the Court of Spain acquir'd, in 1721, what they call a *Right*, and what we must allow to be a *Pretext*, (though we shall insist that it is not a *valid one*) to demand the Restitution of Gibraltar? Has it not been demonstrated that this *Pretension* is supported by one of the *private Treaties* made at Madrid, in the same Year; that it is revived even by the *Preliminaries*, and manifestly included in the Act of the *Pardo*, explanatory of these *Preliminaries*? All This has been urged over and over. It has not been answer'd; and *this Author* is defied to answer it. With what *Face* then (except *his own*) can it be declared *evident* that we have, by the *first Article* of the Treaty of Seville, a *full Acknowledgment on the Part of Spain of our Right to Gibraltar, and the Island of Minorca*? Let him learn, that we have not *this full Acknowledgment of our Right*, for the very Reason he gives to prove that we have it; *because all former Treaties and Conventions are renewed and confirmed*.

When subsequent Treaties and Conventions derogate, in any Respect, from Those, which preceded them, and they are *all renew'd and confirm'd alike*, He might, one would imagine, perceive that they must *explain one another*; and that the *former Treaties and Conventions* are renew'd and confirm'd, subject to the *Alterations* made in them, or to the *Derogations* made from them by the *latter*, and not otherwise.

It is evident therefore that Room is still left to the *Spaniards*, at a proper Time and Place, to chicanery with us again upon our *Right* to these *foreign Acquisitions*.

Nor will the *Article of Guaranty* be sufficient to redress this Matter ; because it is given in Pursuance of the *Treaties*, and the whole Obligation is limited according to the *Treaties* ; from whence it follows that the *Spaniards* may hereafter (and I doubt much they will) contend that though we have the *Possession* still, we have not still the *Right* to these Places, which we acquired by the *Treaty of Utrecht* ; that therefore the *Guaranty*, given by the *Treaty of Seville*, cannot be construed to extend to the *Right*, and that it does not so much as mention the *Possession*.

The *Observer* supposes our *Possession* guaranty'd, and affirms it *secured beyond all Possibility of Doubt, or Cavil*. How reasonably, or ingenuously, let any indifferent Person judge.

In the *perpetual Guaranty* given to *Don Carlos* and his *Successors*, by the *twelfth Article* of this *Treaty*, not only the *Right*, but the *Possession*, and even the *quiet Possession* are expressly mention'd. In the *Treaty of Hanover* the *Guaranty* is given, not in general, as in this *Treaty*, but for all *Dominions, Countries and Towns, which each of the Allies shall be in the actual Possession of, at the Time of the signing the Alliance*. Had the same *Terms* been made Use of in the *second Article* of the *Treaty of Seville*, the King of Spain had certainly guaranty'd to us both *Gibraltar* and the *Island of Minorca*, even without naming them ; but these *Terms* are not used in that *Article*. If they were not insisted upon, how will our *Ministers* justify their Neglect ? If they were insisted upon, how will our *Ministers* justify the *Cordiality and Sincerity* of the *Spanish Court* ; or cure the *Apprehensions* entertained in *Britain* ?

There

There is one Argument more, which I think unanswerable to *this Writer*, and must put the Affair of *Gibraltar* beyond all Possibility of Doubt or Cavil, with *Him* at least. He will be ready enough, I dare say, to acknowledge the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* to be deficient in any Particular; and I must agree with him that it is really so, in not stipulating for a proper District of Ground round about *Gibraltar*, beyond the Reach of Cannon Shot, as is usually granted to *Garrison Towns*. By this Defect the *Spaniards* claim all the Land without the Town, up to the very Walls of it; as appeared by the Answer of the *Conde de las Torres* to our Governor, when he made the first Approaches to it; and perhaps the Words *Terres de leur Obeissance*, in the Article of *Guaranty*, (as extensive as He boasts them to be) may be construed, by the *Spaniards*, so as not to include, or comprehend the Town and Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*. It is therefore somewhat surprizing that so wise a Minister should found the Security of *that Place* on a *Treaty*, to which he hath made so many Objections, and to which all the World must allow *this Objection* to be just. One would think that when he was apprized of *this Omission*, by the Siege of that Place, he would have supplied it in the *late Treaty*, and insisted to have as much Ground granted, as is usual to other *Garrison Towns*; since he could not plead *Inadvertency* in his Excuse, as the *Negotiators* of the *Utrecht Treaty* perhaps might; and yet *This*, we see, he has not done, however reasonable and necessary; nay, I have been told it was own'd publicly, by *this Writer* himself, that if we had presumed so much as to mention any Thing, relating to *Gibraltar*, it would have been sufficient to have induced the *Spaniards* to break off all farther *Negotiations*; from whence we may certainly conclude, that the *Spaniards*, according to their Judgment and Construction of the *Treaty*, have effectually preserved their Pretensions to *that Fortrefs*. I

I hope it has hitherto appear'd that the *Observer* is but a weak Defender of a weak Cause; and I believe the same will appear in our Examination of the next Article, which relates to the Satisfaction our *Merchants* are to expect, as to their *past Losses* and their *future Security*.

That This has been sufficiently provided for, he *labours to prove*. The Term is *his own*; and I cannot but observe upon it, how strange an Idea he gives us of *this Treaty*, when he *labours to prove* That, which if it *wants to be proved*, the Treaty can be good for nothing; but he repeats, comments and declaims. *Proving* is not his Talent.

I shall not descend, at present, into all our mercantile Interests with *Spain*; which deserve, and, I doubt not, will have a Consideration, suitable to the Importance of them to a Nation, whose Life is *Commerce*, and whose *Merchants* may justly be called the *nursing Fathers* of it.

I shall not detain the Reader, by taking Notice of some very odd and very suspicious Characters, which appear in divers parts of *this Treaty*; such as, for Instance, in the *first separate Article*; where, because *Commerce* is to be establish'd on the Foot of Treaties and Conventions antecedent to the Year 1725, an *express Declaration* is, *for the greater Exactness*, made of the *Treaties comprehended under that general Denomination*; where, amongst others, the *Treaty of Utrecht* is mention'd, and the *Treaty of 1667*, comprised in it; and yet the *Treaty of 1670* is not mention'd, although it is recall'd and confirm'd by the *Treaty of Utrecht*; and although it contains the first and principal Regulations about the *West-India-Trade*, made by the Court of *Spain*.

I shall not I say dwell, at present, on these and many such Points; but shall take a shorter Way with our *Observer*, and endeavour to confuse him, by
admitting

admitting almost all he says, where he states the Purport of the several Articles relative to *Trade* and to the Satisfaction stipulated to our *Merchants*.

Supposing the Whole therefore to stand, even according to his own Representation, his Harangue to the *Merchants* will amount to no more than This. “Gentlemen, after having been obliged to acknowledge that your *Ships* and *Effects* have been seized, detained and even confiscated by the *Spaniards*, in a most unusual and unjustifiable Manner; I present you with the common Provisions, which are made in ordinary Cases, for your Satisfaction, as to what is passed, in this very extraordinary Case. After having complain’d of the Violation of all your Privileges and Rights of Commerce, committed by the *Spaniards*, without any Regard to the most solemn Treaties in Force between the two Nations, I offer you, for your future Security, the very same Security, which hath appeared already to be ineffectual; that is, the Renewal and Confirmation of the very same Treaties. After having, from a pacifick Disposition, and for Fear of widening the Breach, exasperating the *Spaniards*, and disobliging the *French*, suffered you to be insulted, taken and plundered by the former, during four Years, I have procured for you much the same Terms, as might have been procured immediately after the Conclusion of the *Hanover Alliance*, and before you had suffered the Hardships and Losses, to which you have been since exposed. In short, after having felt very severely the great Mischiefs, to which we are exposed, by having one valuable Branch of our Commerce at the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, I desire your Approbation of a Treaty, which will put our *Italian Trade* into a Dependance on them likewise.” If This appears ludicrous, it is no Fault of mine. It is founded on Truth, and on Facts of the most publick Notoriety.

riety. I may safely appeal to any indifferent Man, whether all, that is here said, cannot be said justly on the *Treaty of Seville*, and whether more than This can be said with Justice on the same Foundation.

But now the *Observer* will alledge, that He must confess Himself *ignorant* and therefore may, out of his singular Modesty, *challenge the most clear-sighted* of his Adversaries to *shew what other Method could possibly have been used*, in any particular Instance ; or how we could, upon the whole, have obtained more secure and advantageous Conditions. To which I shall reply, with as much Deference as his profound Politicks deserve ; first in *general*,

That if it be necessary to constitute a *good Treaty of Peace*, that the *Conditions* of it be proportioned to the *Motives*, whether of *Interest* or *Honour*, which occasion'd the *War* ; it is no less necessary, in order to obtain such a *Peace*, that the Efforts made in a *War* be proportioned to the Nature of it ; that *vigorous Resolutions* be taken, and that a *speedy Execution* of them do constantly follow. This was urged from the *Throne*, at the Time of our Rupture with *Spain* ; and all the *Motives*, which could incite or provoke, were pressed upon us. They had their *Effect in Part* The Parliament gave all the *Supplies*, which were asked, and as ample a Latitude as any *Ministers* could desire to exert themselves in. *Vigorous Resolutions* were taken ; but it must be own'd that the *other Part of the Effect*, which might have been expected from such a Beginning, did not follow.

As soon as the *Treaties* were made, the *Accessions* procured, and the *Army* provided, at the Expence of *Britain*, which were necessary for defending *lower Saxony*, we seem'd to have no more to do in the *War* ; and the *Spaniards* carried it on against us with Impunity. If this *new Method* of making War laid us under some Disadvantage in *treating a Peace* ;
it

if we have, for this Reason, been able to procure from the *Spaniards* no Reparation for the Menaces and Insults offer'd to the *Crown* and *Nation*; and if, instead of obliging *Those*, who did the *Injury*, to repair it, we have been content that they should renew *Promises*, which they have often made, and seldom kept; all I need to say in Answer is *This*; that the *same Persons*, who made this *honourable War*, made this *solid and lasting Peace*. Neither do I believe that Men, who have failed to obtain a *good End*, were ever admitted to excuse themselves by pleading that they had not taken *proper Means*.

But *secondly*, to be more particular in answering this Question, *what other Method could be taken*? There is no Doubt that our *foreign Acquisitions*, *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca*, would have been more effectually secured to us, if they had been *specifically* mention'd; if all Claim to them had been *renounced in express Terms* by *Spain*; and if they had been named in the *Guaranty* given to his Majesty for all his *Kingdoms, States and Dominions*. It were easy to shew, by many Examples, that *This* hath been the Practice, whenever any *favourite Interest* hath been concerned. But I shall content myself to establish this Truth, without going any farther than the Treaty of *Seville* itself for my Authority. The *second separate Article* stipulates that *all the Ships, Merchandize and Effects*, there described, shall be immediately restored. The *Prince Frederick* and her Cargo are manifestly comprehended in that Description. No Man will deny it; and yet our *Ministers* were so scrupulously observant of the Rule I lay down, that, in this Case, they took Care to add to the general Stipulation these Words, *and namely the Prince Frederick and her Cargo*. How it happened that They had not the same scrupulous Regard for our *foreign Acquisitions*, let the *Observer* declare. *This Method* of securing them, would have been *effectual*, and liable to no Objection from *Spain*

if that Court design they should be *effectually secured to us*. But the Neglect of *this Method* may tempt the *Spaniards* to persist, on future Occasions, in demanding what we appear, perhaps, in their Eyes, not a little remiss in securing. Nay, this Neglect may likewise give some Countenance to those *scandalous Reports*, which are not raised here, but which transpire from abroad, that *private Engagements* are enter'd into for restoring *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca* to the *Spaniards* at the End of *three Years*.

As *another Method* might have been found than *That*, which hath been taken, for securing our *foreign Acquisitions*; so will it not be hard to shew the *Observer*, in Contempt of his *Desances* and *Challenges*, that a *more effectual Method* might possibly have been used in Favour of our *Merchants* than *That*, which hath been followed. Let him take the trouble of comparing the Treaty of the 5th of *April* 1654 between *Cromwel* and the *States General* with the Treaty of *Seville*. By the *former*, the *Ships* and *Effects* of the *English*, or the Value of them, were to be restored within *fourteen Days* after the Arrival of the *Owners*, or their *Agents*, at the Places where the *Ships* and *Effects* had been seized and detained. *Arbitrators*, or *Commissaries*, were indeed to examine and determine upon the several Demands; but then they were to meet at *Goldsmith's-Hall* in *London*, by the 27th of *June* following. They were to be all sworn in the high Court of *Admiralty*, and unless they agreed before the 1st of *August*, they were to be shut up without *Fire*, *Candle*, *Victuals*, or *Drink*, till they did agree. Their Decisions were to be *final*. The Money was to be paid in *twenty-five Days* after the Adjudication, and Security to be given beforehand, in *London*, for the *Payment*. *Commissaries* were likewise appointed, by *this Treaty*, to examine Complaints made by the *Merchants*, on both Sides, of mutual Injuries, suffered in all Parts of the World, from the Year 1611 to the Year 1652. This was a
 x much

much larger Field surely than That, which is opened to the *Commissaries*, appointed to meet at the Court of *Spain*, by the *Treaty of Seville*; and yet, by *Cromwel's Treaty*, these *Commissaries* were to finish in *three Months*, instead of so many *Years*; and if they did not conclude in that time, a *neutral Power*, the *Swiss Cantons*, was to determine finally in *six Months more*.

When the *Observer* hath made this Comparison, let him compare the great maritime Power of the *Dutch*, at that Time, with the contemptible naval Force of the *Spaniards*, in this Age. Let him compare *Cromwel's* Circumstances, and his Fleets with *Ours*. In short, let him compare the Reasons *Cromwel* had to complain of the *Dutch* with Those, which we have sounded so high against the *Spaniards*. When these Comparisons are once made, I doubt the *Observer* will have no Reason to give, which He will be willing to avow, why there is so great a Difference between the *Manner*, in which this Nation *treated*, and the *Satisfaction* she obtained, in *former Times*; and the *Manner*, in which she hath submitted to *treat*, and the *Satisfaction* she hath accepted, upon the *present Occasion*.

I thought to have taken some Notice of what he says concerning the *Claim to a Recompence*, which is preserved to the *Spaniards*, for the Ships taken from them in 1718. But, on a Review of that Paragraph, I find it so frivolous, and even so little plausible, that I cannot resolve to lengthen this Examination, which is too long already, by shewing that if the *Claims*, which the *Spaniards* had, by Virtue of the *Treaty of 1721*, is now wholly extinguished, because it was the *Fault of the Spaniards only that those Ships were not put into their Possession*; This would have been an extream good Reason for refusing to *revive and countenance* their Claim; but is a very poor One for consenting to *do both*.

I think it proper, for certain Reasons, to conclude with telling the *Author* of the *Observations*, that as He hath often found me, and I hope not without Effect, in his Way ; so he may depend on receiving the same good Offices from me, till he hath received the *just Reward*, which is due to Him from the *Publick* ; but that I never deal in *Billinggate*, *Lampoons*, or *Libels*; and that, whenever I am accused of doing so, I am accused falsely.

C.





A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

W H E N We first undertook this Edition of the *Craftsman*, We did not design to insert any of the Verses, which had been occasionally publish'd in it, except Those, which were strictly *political*; but We have been since advis'd to print some others, which may serve to diversify the Work, and having Room in this Place, We have taken that Advice.



T O H I S E X C E L L E N C Y

Philip E A R L of *Chesterfield*,

O N H I S

Extraordinary E M B A S S Y to Holland.

Printed in the Year 1727.



C H E S T E R F I E L D, with early Laurels
crown'd,
For poignant Wit and nervous Sense
renown'd,
Whom all the Powers of Eloquence
adorn,
For publick Scenes and great Employments born;
A while indulgent to my Verse attend,
Of every Art the Judge, to every Muse a Friend.

C c 3

Now

Now for two Years, by wrathful Heaven ordain'd,
 Discord and Strife thro' half the Globe have reign'd,
 As long hath *Britain* mourn'd her wayward Fate,
 Of *Europe* labouring to support the Weight,
 As long her warlike Fleets have plough'd the Main,
 And numerous Armies have been paid in vain ;
 While o'er the World her boasted Commerce fails ;
 His Treasures seized the Bankrupt Merchant wails ;
 The Looms stand still, *Britannia's* golden Mines,
 And starved in Ease the Artizan repines ;
 The various Burthens of the State increase,
 Thus long prepared for War, nor yet assured of Peace.

In this dread Crisis, this Suspence of Fate,
 When every Mail alarms the doubtful State,
 When Hopes and Fears our Breasts alternate move,
 Well does our King his wise Discernment prove,
 While to such Hands he delegates his Power,
 And deigns that Merit shall repine no more.
 To recommend thy Name, in such a Reign,
 Titles seem needless, and Distinctions vain,
 On the strong Basis of Desert you stand,
 Nor owe your Greatness to a second Hand ;
 By no mean Arts, or servile Courtship rise,
 But Virtue mark't you out to *Brunswick's* Eyes ;
 In Knowledge, Sense and Honour you confide,
 And your high Lineage is your meanest Pride.

Already, conscious of thy spreading Fame,
 The *Belgian* Powers thy timely Presence claim,
 In this nice Juncture of contending States,
 Like *Churcbill* once, to prosper their Debates.
 Methinks I see thee in their Councils join,
 Of mystick Leagues unraveling the Design ;
 In upright Measures skill'd, thy generous Heart
 Scorns the low Cunning of a Jugler's Art,
 By Tricks and Fraud attempting to succeed,
 Or skinning o'er the Wounds, which soon afresh will
 bleed.

For

For, if the sanguine Muse aright presage
 From thy known Talents, which foreerun thy Age,
 By prudent Counsels and deliberate Schemes,
 (Proving all Ways, and shunning all Extremes)
 The Broils of *Europe* thou shalt still compose,
 And reconcile to Peace the scepter'd Foes,
 Avert from *Britain* her projected Fate,
 And prove another TEMPLE to the State.

On Thee, my Lord, our quickening Hopes depend,
 On Thee our Wishes and our Prayers attend;
 Go forth, thy Country's Hope, thy Monarch's Boast,
 And reach, with prosperous Gales, the destin'd Coast:
 Of potent Realms prevent the direful Strife,
 And call the withering Olive back to Life,
 Restore the Peace of every jarring Land,
 And fix the Ballance fast in *Brunswick's* Hand.

That work perform'd (a Work of so much Art,
 That only STANHOPE can sustain the Part!)
 Thy native, loud-applauding Shores regain,
 And in the *British* Senate shine again,
 Again thy Sovereign's Smiles and Counsels share,
 By all the Nation blest'd, recover'd from Despair.



The Pacification.

Nick Dapper, and the great De—l—re,
 Against whom Nick so oft has drawn
 His hostile Pen, one Night last Week
 Met at the *Mitre*, Jowl by Cheek,
 Unsought on both Sides was the Meeting,
 So there was very little Greeting;
 No sparring Words nor formal Farce,
 Your Servant, Sir, or kiss my A—se;

But

But down they fate, drank to the next,
 Yet in their Stomachs somewhat vext.
Nick view'd the *Doctor* very hard;
 The *Doctor* scowl'd upon the Bard;
 But both the *Poet* and the *Head*
 Being, you know, extremely bred,
 Scorn'd to disturb the jovial Table
 With their old Piques and College Squabble.

Thus for some Hours, with silent Grudge,
 They sat Mumchance, as you may judge,
 Drank a great deal, and now and then
 Popt in a Word with other Men.

At length, St. *Dunstan's* Clock struck One,
 And all the sober Cuffs were gone;
 The rest, who were inclined to stay,
 Call'd for a *Bottle and to pay*;
 The *Doctor* and the *Bard* made two,
 Who are no *Starters*, you all know.

Good Wine, they say, sharp Quarrels ends,
 And of old Foes makes lasting Friends;
 Which once, for Instance, happen'd here,
 As by the Sequel will appear.

They soon grew warm and, e'er they parted,
 Were very frank and open-hearted,
 Talk'd twenty different Matters o'er;
 The more they talk'd, agreed the more;
 They laugh'd, and intermix'd their Chat
 With Puns and Quibbles very pat;
 The *Doctor* toasted Mrs. *W—d*,
 And *Nick* another, full as good.

Then quoth the *Poet* to the *Den*,
 "How does our Friend, the great *Sir John*?"
 "For, if I fail not in my Wine,
 "He was your Patron, well as mine."
 The *Doctor* smiled, well pleased to railly
 The Bites, and Bubbles of the Alley,
 Rail'd at *South-Sea*, and *modern Jobbing*,
 With some broad Hints against one *ROBIN*.

On

On which, said Nick, " for eight long Years,
 " We've been together by the Ears;
 " On both Sides made a great ado;
 " You *turn'd me out*; I *libell'd you*.
 " For my Part, *Doctor*, I confess
 " Myself in Fault; I can no less;
 " I was a Fool and see my Folly,
 " Which makes me wondrous melancholy;
 " For rather than have thus been bamm'd
 " I wish the *Whigs* had all been d——d.
 The *Doctor* answer'd very mellow,
 " Faith, thou'rt an hon—hon—honest Fellow!
 " How could I use thee so? ————alas!
 " I blush to look thee in the Face;
 " But 'twas against my Will—you know
 " How with your Friend, *Nick*, Matters go;
 " You understand——and so I hope——
 " I wish the Rascals all a Rope——
 " Do, prithee, *Nick*! forgive me, do;
 " Behold these Tears; see how they flow;
 " I ask your Pardon and, in short,
 " Am very——*blucup*! ——sorry for't;
 " For rather than have caus'd this Evil,
 " I would the *Ch——ch* were at the Devil.
 " Here then, quoth *Nick*, our Quarrel ends,
 " And from henceforth We two are Friends;
 " And curst be he, whose plotting Brain
 " Shall strive to make us Foes again.
 " Ay, curst be he, the *Dan* reply'd,
 " Who shall henceforth our Love divide;
 " Curst be the Villain! whether Doctor,
 " Or Brother-Head, or Cousin-Proctor,
 " Vice-Chancellor or Senior Fellow;
 " E'en let them rail, and roar and bellow;
 " Of what-e'er Standing or Degree,
 " I'll quit them all to tope with Thee;
 " For, *entre nous*, those hooded Gentry
 " Are sad dull Rogues, nineteen in twenty,
 " " Damn'd

" Damn'd, dreaming, empty Skulls! and rather
 " Than smoke a Pipe with *H—le* or *M——r*,
 " I would, dear *Nick*, ——hold! let me think——
 " I'd fast twelve Hours from *Meat* and *Drink*,
 " Dear Sir, quoth *Nick*, compose your Mind,
 " You make me blush, you are so kind;
 " My guilty Works rise up to Sight;
 " How, *Doctor*, shall I do you Right?
 " My Poems, Pamphlets, Dedications,
 " Lewd Tales, and tragical Relations
 " From *Grubstreet*, and the Lord knows whence,
 " Each Page that gives the least Offence,
 " (Ev'n that unlucky Bastard *TERRY*,
 " Who with your *Reverence* makes so merry,)
 " To-morrow shall in Flames arise,
 " For a Burnt-Offering to the Skies.
 " What, burn thy Works so arch and pretty!
 " No, quoth the Doctor, that's a Pity;
 " Such Favours how can I acknowledge?——
 " Come, *here's Confusion to the College*.
 " But! O dear *Nick*, once more go down,
 " And visit that ungrateful Town;
 " For though by an unjust Decree,
 " (And oh! dire Thought! pronounc'd by me)
 " Thou from St. *John's* art driv'n away,
 " Of buzzing, witlefs Drones the Prey,
 " At my own Lodgings thou shalt lie,
 " And all the strutting Sots defy,
 " Eat and drink well at *College-Charge*,
 " And be as welcome——as King *GEORGE*.





To a LADY,

Who had YELLOW HAIR.

W^Hilst on thy golden Locks I gaze,
 And what I like sincerely praise,
 Coldly you turn your Head away,
 And tax with Flattery all I say;
 But tho', when present, you prevail,
 And interrupt my eager Tale,
 Yet shall the absent Muse supply
 What to my Tongue your Frowns deny.

Let other Damsels, oddly vain,
 With Quack-Receipts their Features stain,
 And, studious of a false Renown,
 For borrow'd Beauties change their own;
 Boldly do thou despise the Taste
 Of leaden Combs, of Paint, and PASTE,
 In thy own native Charms arise,
 Nor think we judge with vulgar Eyes.

The Locks, which flow'd in Waves of Gold,
 Subdu'd the toughest Hearts of Old.
 For Charms like These, almighty *Jove*
 Despised his starry Realms above,
 And, kindled with a mortal Flame,
 Down to our Earth a Suitor came;
 For, if old Tales we call to Mind,
 Or look in *Ovid*, we shall find
 That *Leda*, *Danaë*, and the rest,
 Whom *Jove* in Masquerade possess'd,
 Were Damsels of a snowy Hue,
 With Locks of Amber, just like you.
 Such Tresses, in the Days of Yore,
Venus, the Queen of Beauty, wore;

Which

Which made e'en *Mars* forsake the Field,
And forced the God of War to yield.

Fair *Rosalind*, as Poets sing,
Enamour'd thus a *British* King;
With blazing Hair she pierc'd his Heart,
And ev'ry Ringlet proved a Dart.

On Thee may better Fortune light,
Nor may thy Charms such Rage excite!
For tho' a Monarch wore her Chain,
What did alas! that Triumph gain?
An injured Queen, with vengeful Rage,
Pursued her in the Bloom of Age,
And, in a curs'd ill-fated Hour,
Surprized her in the conscious Bower;
There, with the Dagger, and the Bowl
Wreak'd all the Fury of her Soul.

But no such Ills infect the Plain;
Safe in my Cottage may'st thou reign;
No jealous Queen will urge her Right,
Nor watch thy Footsteps Day and Night;
My Heart unrival'd thou may'st keep,
Whilst on the Hills I tend my Sheep,
Unenvied thro' the Vales may'st rove,
And without Fear or Danger love.

No more then, with unkind Disdain,
Reject the Conquests you obtain,
To Falsehood and delusive Art,
Wresting the Dictates of my Heart;
Vouchsafe, for once, in Man to trust,
Nor rashly deem us all unjust;
For me (believe me when I swear;
And thou, O *Venus*, witness bear)
However squeamish Fops may range,
However Tastes and Modes may change,
Whether the *Black*, the *Brown*, or *Fair*
Shall chance to reign the favourite Hair,
Still shall my Voice those Charms approve,
Which vanquish'd *Henry*, *Mars*, and *Jove*.



T O

Miss Polly Peachum,

A TOWN PASTORAL.

Written in Imitation of the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*.

By *J.W. of Cheapside*, LINNEN-DRAPER.

Sicelides Musa, paulo Majora canamus. Virg.

Farewel! ye Nymphs, who range the humble
Plains;

Henceforth a nobler Subject swells my Strains.

Aid all ye Muses; all your Strength combine;

For in dear POLLY all the Muses shine.

When on the Stage you act the moving Part,

My Ears and Eyes conspire to rack my Heart;

I gaze, I listen; and in Doubt am lost

Which happy Faculty is ravish'd most;

Thy Charms transport me, while I bless thy Voice,

And in the general, loud Applause rejoice.

Through every Scene thy rigid Fate I moan,

And in thy soft Distress forget my own;

Domestick Charges, courtly Bills unpaid,

Increasing Taxes, and declining Trade,

Debts, Pensions, Bribes, no more disturb my Mind,

And ev'n the *Coal-Act* leaves no sting behind.

With Thee when *Lucy* dares dispute the Prize,

On the vain Slut I fix my scornful Eyes;

Vol. V.

D d

Contempt

Contempt and Rage my throbbing Heart invade,
 And from my Soul I curse—the SAUCY JADE!
 When bound in Chains the great MACHEATH I see,
 Betray'd and sentenc'd to the fatal Tree,
 Moved with thy Tears, my Patriot-Fires decay,
 And publick Zeal to private Love gives way;
 Compassion rises for the *Robbing Race*,
 And, for thy Sake, I beg an *Act of Grace*.

But shall my Lips, against the righteous Laws,
 Vouchsafe to plead a *publick Robber's Cause*?
 Ah! no—since Justice dooms him to the Cart,
 Let him be hang'd, that I may gain thy Heart—
 Yet how can I expect thy Heart to gain,
 When Nobles sigh, and Ribbons glare in vain?
 Once more I long, with unexampled Art
 To see Thee act this dear, delightful Part;
 When not in vain thy Fate thou shalt bemoan,
 The Rapture ours, the *Benefit* thy own.
 Close in my Purse a *Guinea*, golden-bright,
 I keep reserved for that expected Night;
 More would I give!—but what my Stars deny,
 Let Courtiers and contending Peers supply.

Nor groundless is the Hope—with Joy I see
 Courtiers and Peers contend in praising Thee;
 Sooth'd with thy *British* Notes and warbling Flights,
 The *Patriot* and *Pensioner* unites.
 Ev'n thy own Sex thy shining Charms extol.
 And, young or old, acknowledge *pretty Poll*;
 While Envy is itself in Wonder lost,
 And Factions strive who shall applaud Thee most.





POLLY PEACHUM:

A new BALLAD.

To the Tune of, *Of all the Girls that are so smart,*

I.

OF all the Belles that tread the Stage,
There's none like pretty *Polly*,
And all the Musick of the Age,
Except her Voice, is Folly;
The waining Nymphs of *Drury-Lane*
I now can bear no longer;
And when she's present, I disdain
My *quondam* Favourite, *Younger*.

II.

Compar'd with her, how flat appears
Cuzzoni, or *Faustina*?
And when she sings, I shut my Ears
To warbling *Senesino*.
What tho' her Father is a *Rogue*,
Her Mother tho' a *Whore* is?
Those *Vices* now are high in Vogue,
And *Virtue* out of Door is.

III.

Great Dames there are, who break their Vows
As oft as Madam *Peachum*,
And greater Robbers than her Spouse,
Tho' *Tyburn* cannot reach 'em.

D d 2

What

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What tho' *Mackbeath* too is as bad
As Father, or as Mother,
And, blest with *Polly*, is so mad
To ramble to another?

IV.

Polly, I ween, is not the first,
Nor will she be the last, Sir,
Who in an Husband hath been curs'd,
And met the same Disaster.
How many Courtiers have we known,
Quite rotten-ripe with Poxes,
Who, tho' they seldom wed but One,
Keep half a dozen Doxies?

V.

But *Polly's* not the worse a Pin,
Her Charms not less celestial;
But, tho' to *Rogues* and *Whores* a-kin,
An Angel is terrestrial.
Some Prudes indeed, with envious Spight,
Would blast her Reputation,
And tell us that to *Ribbons* bright
She yields, upon Occasion.

VI.

But These are all invented Lyes,
And vile outlandish Scandal,
Which from *Italian Clubs* arise,
And Partizans of *Handel*.
Then let us toast the blooming Lads,
Whose Charms have thus ensnared me;
I'd drink it in a brimming Glass,
Tho' Parson * *Herring* heard me.

* *The Author of a late famous Sermon against the Beggar's*
Opera.

~~EXTENDED TO THE~~

A

P R O J E C T

For MANNING

His MAJESTY'S

ROYAL NAVY.

I.

WHilst dull *Projectors* toil in vain
To *man* the Royal Fleet,
And all their *Schemes* contriv'd with Pain,
Such Opposition meet ;

II.

Methinks how easy were the Thing,
By Methods worthy *Freemen*,
Both for the Honour of the *King*,
And Service of the *Seamen*.

III.

Nor is my *Scheme* at all confus'd,
For no *Bye Purpose* made ;
Let them like English Men be us'd,
And regularly paid.



E P I G R A M.

WHat strange Resemblance can your Fancy see
 'Twixt *W——*'s *Fame* and *Wolsey's Infamy*?
 In vain thro' *Greece* and *Italy* you roam,
 In vain explore our Annals here at Home;
 In vain you conjure up old Shades from Hell;
 For, as Friend *Theobald* hath express'd it well,
None but HIMSELF can be his PARALLEL.



E P I G R A M.

NO Stone was dug from under Ground,
 That *Wolsey's* Infamy display'd;
 Nor the least Likeness can be found
 Between the *Living* and the *Dead*.

If This be true, pray tell me why
 (Since all the hideous Piece abhor)
 You always question whom 'tis *by*,
 But never question whom 'tis *for*?





A N
E P I G R A M
O N A
Late DEBATE in the H— of C—
Concerning the
NATIONAL DEBT.

Printed in *March*, 1727-8.

LAST Week in this Town was a furious Debate,
Between two *great Masters* and *Champions* of
State;

Dread Havock ensued and most terrible Work,
While one fought for *Norfolk*, the other for *York*;
Their Hearts full of Ire, and their Tongues sharp as
Swords;

Sure never was seen such a *Battle of Words*!

Stout as *Sutton* and *Figg* to their Weapons they stood,
Their Eyes darted Fire, and their Speeches drew Blood;
What *one Man* asserted, the *other* denied;
They argued, objected, remark'd, and replied;
At length, quoth Sir *William*, let *Numbers* decide. }
Then nothing but *Numbers*, ay *Numbers*, was heard,
Which, on telling of Notes, for *Norfolk* appear'd;
Tho' the Champion of *York* did his Sides so belabour,
He seem'd but to want a *clear Stage* and *no Favour*.

Yet as it stands now, if the World judge aright,
Another such Triumph would demolish Him quite;
'Twas but a *drawn Battle* at best, without doubt;
One triumph'd *within Doors*, the other *without*.



T O
Her ROYAL HIGHNESS
T H E
Princess *AMELIA*,
A T
B A T H.

O Princess, form'd with every Grace,
Fair Offspring of our *Brunswick* Race,
In whom such various Charms are join'd,
Beauty, Good-nature, Strength of Mind,
Griev'd with thy long-continued Ills,
(Which every loyal *Brisson* feels)
To Heav'n my suppliant Voice I raise,
And consecrate these votive Lays.
When late you left your Father's Court,
How mournful was the Day's Resort?
Each sympathetick Face and Heart
In your severe Distress took part;
Clouds sighing stood as you pass'd by,
And Tears gush'd forth from every Eye,
Whilst, as with eager Looks they gaz'd,
Your Fate they mourn'd, your Sweetness prais'd,
And begg'd that Heav'n would ease your Pain,
And send you back in Health again.

Now

Now let thy Springs and mineral Stores
Exert, O BATH, their utmost Powers,
Thy Climate more serenely shine,
Thy Leeches all their Aid combine,
The stubborn Illness to withstand,
And in one Cure rejoice the Land!

To these may Heav'n a Blessing give;
And grant *Amelia* long to live!
Long may her lovely Virtues shine,
The Boast of her illustrious Line,
To bless some youthful Monarch's Arms,
Well worthy such exalted Charms!

Nor will the Power of Earth and Air
Disdain to hear a Nation's Prayer;
Lo! from on high He nods his Head;
Our Sorrows cease, our Fears are fled;
AMELIA lives; the royal Maid
Already feels celestial Aid;
Returning Spirits warm her Breast,
No midnight Pangs disturb her Rest,
Her Eyes their wonted Fires resume,
Fresh on her Cheeks the Roses bloom;
Charm after Charm renews her Face,
And every Morning adds a Grace.

O speed! ye Powers, that happy Day,
When, in full Health and Vigour gay,
Returning she shall bless our Sight,
Of hailing Crouds the dear Delight;
While *GEORGE* and *CAROLINE* rejoice,
And *BRITAIN* lifts to Heav'n her grateful Voice.



ADVERTISEM E N T.

THE two following little Pieces of Poetry were
occasioned by a Conversation, in which a Gen-
tleman happened to say, by way of Gallantry, to a
young

young Lady present, who had a fine Complexion, that she was perfect *Waxwork*; from whence she took the Name of *Waxy*. The Reader will perceive that They were written in Imitation of *Pygmalion* and the *Statue* in *Ovid*.

W A X Y :

O R,

VERSES upon a Young LADY'S BIRTH-DAY.

HAIL to the Light of this revolving Morn,
On which such Beauty to the World was born,
Or rather *made* ; for thus Traditions say,
That on this happy, this auspicious Day,
SALMON, the female Artist, whose Renown
Draws to her Shop the Country and the Town,
A curious Piece, compleat in every Part,
The utmost Trial of her plastick Art,
Resolv'd to make ; the mighty Work design'd,
And thrice, with Art, the costly Wax refin'd ;
Then kneaded into Form the pliant Mold,
Which glitter'd in her Hands, like burnish'd Gold,
Graceful and tall she plans the rising Dame,
And with exact Proportion builds the Frame ;
Upon her Lips the lively Coral glows,
And her Teeth shine between in Ivory Rows ;
The mimic Lustre brightens in her Eyes,
Firm on her Breast the snowy Circles rise ;
She turns her Shape, with Tresses decks her Head,
And mixes on her Cheeks the White and Red ;

O'er

O'er her fair Limbs she draws the azure Veins,
Which seem like Rills, that wind thro' flow'ry Plains;
Branches her Fingers out in beauteous Length,
And adds to every Feature Grace and Strength;
The finish'd Piece, with utmost Skill compos'd,
The various Charms of all the Sex disclos'd.

To view this unexampled Work of Art,
Crouds flock'd of old and young from every Part;
All saw, and all the matchless Form admir'd,
But chiefly One, with stronger Raptures fir'd,
Who with a Lover's Eye each Charm survey'd,
And thus to Heaven, in bitter Anguish, pray'd.

Thou Power supreme, at whose commanding Name
From one poor Rib the first fair Woman came,
If Miracles for ever do not cease,
O! work one now; inform this lifeless Piece;
Let not those sparkling Eyes, which charm my Sight,
Shine to charm only, void of real Light;
Nor let those Limbs, so lovely to behold,
Feel to the Touch all languid, stiff and cold;
Give her a Soul, and as her Lips I kiss,
Let them pout forth, and soften with the Bliss;
And those fair, virgin Globes, at thy Command,
Let them heave gently up, and tempt the Hand;
With Life and Warmth invigorate her Charms,
And let me feel her struggling in my Arms;
Be now thy Power, great Heav'n, be now display'd,
And give her to my Wish a living Maid.

Heav'n saw the artless Tumult in his Breast,
Heard his ascending Prayer and made him blest;
Just as he wish'd, behold! it comes to pass,
The lifeless, mute, is made a living Lass;
Her Limbs grow warm, her nimble Eye-balls roll,
And in her Bosom beats the human Soul;
Her soften'd Lips blush like the Morning Rose,
And her loos'd Tongue its proper Office knows;
On either Side her heaving Bosom charms,
And, streak'd with blue, she waves her milk-white Arms;
She

324. A P P E N D I X.

She quickens all, and quicken'd she appears,
Just as she did in Wax; a Maid of fifteen Years.

Thrice glorious Morn! distinguish'd may'ft thou rise,
With double Lustre gild our wintry Skies;
And Thou, for this great Work, amongst the Blest,
May'ft thou, O! SALMON, may'ft thou ever rest;
In Heav'n the happiest Mansion may'ft thou find,
For leaving such an Angel-Form behind.



T O

W A X Y.

FROM humble Dust and common Earth
Whilst other Women take their Birth,
You, *Waxy*, boast a nobler Frame,
From more refin'd Beginnings came;
Hear, O! Thou Joy of every Heart,
What Thou hast been, and what Thou art.

First in gay Groves and blissful Bowers
Thy Charms were seen in opening Flowers,
Did in the Rose and Woodbine bloom,
And with their Sweets the Spring perfume:
Each fragrant Shrub, and every Tree
Once, *Waxy*, was a Part of Thee;
From whence the painful Insect drew
(As daily round the Fields he flew)
Of golden Wax the precious Store,
And to his Hive the Burthen bore.
SALMON did on the Bee refine,
And Heav'n compleated the Design,
Wak'd Thee to Life, divinely good,
In all the Charms of Flesh and Blood.

In

In every Change, through which you pass,
 I trace you down from first to last;
 Sweet as the *Flowers*, in which you bloom'd;
 Gay as the *Groves*, which you perfum'd;
 Brisk as the *Bee*, which robs the Spring,
 And thy Wit pointed like its Sting;
 Soft as the *Wax* in SALMON's Hand;
 And just as *Heav'n*, by whose Command
 Dwells in thy Breast a living Soul,
 The Hearts of Millions you controul,
 And wrought with more than female Grace,
 Triumph ev'n o'er your own fair Race.

But, oh! thus lovely as Thou art,
 Thus form'd to melt the youthful Heart,
 Scornful and cruel should'st Thou prove,
 Deaf to the Vows and Prayers of Love,
 Better that *Wax* Thou still had'st been,
 At *Salmon's* for a Tester seen,
 A shining, but a lifeless Mass,
 By School-Boys gaz'd on through a Glass,
 Than living make Mankind endure
 Those Wounds you give, but will not cure.





THE
PROGRESS
OF
PATRIOTISM.
A TALE.

Vendit Hic Auro Patriam.

SIR *Ralph*, a simple, rural Knight,
 Could just distinguish Wrong from Right;
 When he receiv'd a Quarter's Rent,
 And almost half in *Taxes* went,
 He rail'd at *Places*, *Bribes*, and *Pensions*,
 And *secret Service*, new Inventions;
 Preach'd up the true, old *English* Spirit,
 And mourn'd the great Neglect of Merit;
 Lamented our forlorn Condition,
 And wish'd the Country would *petition*;
 Said, he would first subscribe his Name,
 And added 'twas a burning Shame

That

That *some Men* large Estates should get,
And fatten on the *publick Debt*;
Of his poor Country urg'd his Love,
And shook his Head at *Those above*.

This Conduct, in a private Station,
Procur'd the *Knight* great Reputation;
The Neighbours all approv'd his Zeal,
(Though few Men judge, yet all Men feel)
And with a general Voice declar'd
Money was scarce, the Times were hard,
That what Sir *Ralph* observ'd was true,
And wish'd the Gallows had its Due.

Thus blest'd with popular Affection,
Behold! there came on an *Election*,
And who more proper than Sir *Ralph*
To guard their Privileges safe?
So, in Return for Zeal and Beer,
They chose him for a *Knight o'th' Shire*.

But mark how Climates change the Mind,
And Virtue chops about like Wind!
Duely the *Knight* came up to Town,
Resolv'd to pull *Corruption* down;
Frequented Clubs of the same Party,
And in the Cause continued hearty;
Broach'd his Opinions, wet and dry,
And gave some honest Votes awry.

At length, in that old, spacious Court,
Where *Members* just at Noon resort,
Up to our Knight Sir *Blasphring* came,
And call'd him frankly by his Name,
Smil'd on Him, shook him by the Hand,
And gave Him soon to understand,
That though his Person was a Stranger,
Yet that, in Times of greatest Danger,
His faithful Services were known,
And all his Family's here in Town,
For whom he had a great Affection;
And wish'd him Joy of his Election,

E c 2.

Assur'd

Assur'd him that his Country's Voice
Could not have made a better Choice.

Sir *Ralph*, who, if not much bely'd,
Had always some Degrees of Pride,
Perceiv'd his Heart begin to swell,
And lik'd this Doctrine mighty well,
Took Notice of his Air and Look,
And how familiarly he spoke;
Such Condescensions, such Professions
Removed all former ill Impressions.

The *Statesman* (who, we must agree,
Can far into our *Foibles* see,
And knows exactly how to flatter
The weak, blind Sides of human Nature)
Saw the vain Wretch begin to yield,
And farther thus his Oil instill'd.

Sir *Ralph*, said he, all Forms apart,
So dear I hold you at my Heart,
Have such a Value for your Worth,
Your Sense and Honour, and so forth,
That in some Points, extremely nice,
I should be proud of your Advice;
Let me, good Sir, the Favour pray
To eat a Bit with me to Day;
Nay, dear Sir *Ralph*, you must agree——
Your Honour's Hour?——exactly Three.

These Points premis'd, they bow and part,
With Hands press'd hard to either Heart;
For now the publick Business calls
Each Patriot to St. *Stephen's* Walls;
Whether the *present Debts* to state;
Or on some *new Supplies* debate,
Would here be needless to relate.

From thence, at the appointed Hour,
Sir *Ralph* attends the *Man of Power*,
Who, better to secure his Ends,
Had likewise bid some courtly Friends,

His

His Brother *Townly* and his *Grace*,
Great Statesmen both, and both in Place;
Our *British Horace*, fam'd for Wit,
Alike for Courts and Senates fit;
Sir *William*, from his early Youth,
Renown'd for Honour, Virtue, Truth;
And *Bubble*, just restor'd to Favour,
On pardon ask'd for *late Behaviour*.

The *Statesman* met his *Convert-Guest*,
Saluted, clasp'd Him to his Breast,
Then introduc'd Him to the rest.

Whilst He, with Wonder and Amaze,
The Splendor of the House surveys.
Huge China Jars and Piles of Plate,
And *modish Screens*, and Beds of State,
Gilt Sconces of stupendous Size,
And costly Paintings strike his Eyes,
From *Italy* and *Flanders* brought,
At the Expence of Nations bought;
Yet doth not one of these relate
The tragick End of Rogues of State;
Although such Pictures might supply
Fit Lessons to the *great Man's* Eye;
But *o'er-grown Favourites* dread to think,
From whence they rose, and how may sink.

Dinner now waited on the Board,
Rich as this City would afford;
For every Element supplies
His Table with its Rarities.
The Guests promiscuous take their Place,
Pro More, without *Form*, or *Grace*;
There might the *little Knight* be seen,
With Ribbons blue and Ribbons green,
All complaisant and debonair
As if the King Himself were there;
Obsequious each consults his Taste,
And, begging to be serv'd the last,

Points round by turns to every Dish;
Will you have Soup, Sir Ralph, or Fish?
This Fricassee or that Ragout?
Pray, Sir, be free, and let me know.

The Cloth remov'd, the Glas goes round,
 With loyal Healths and Wishes crown'd;
May King and Senate long agree!
Success attend the Ministry!
Let publick Faith and Stocks increase!
And grant us, Heav'n! a speedy Peace!

Discourse ensues on *homebred Rage*,
 That rank Distemper of the Age,
 And instantly they all agree,
 They never were so blest, or free;
 That all Complaints were nought but Faction,
 And Patriotism meer Distraction,
 Though full of Reason, void of Grace,
 And only meant to *get in Place*.

Sir *Ralph* in Approbation bow'd;
 Yet own'd that, with the giddy Croud,
 He formerly had gone astray,
 And talk'd in quite another Way,
 Possess'd with Jealousies and Fears,
 Dispers'd by restless Pamphleteers,
 In Libels weekly and diurnal,
 Especially the *Country Journal*;
 But as he felt sincere Contrition,
 He hop'd his Faults would find Remission.

Dear Sir, reply'd the *Blue-string Knight*,
 I'm glad you think Affairs go right;
 All Errors past must be excus'd,
 (Since the best Men may be abus'd)
 What's in my Power you may command,
 Then once more shook Him by the Hand,
 Gave him great Hopes (that is, his *Word*)
 That He should be a *Treasury-Lord*,
 And, to confirm his good Intention,
 At present order'd him a *Pension*.

By these Degrees, Sir *Ralph* is grown
The staunchest Tool in all the Town ;
At *Points* and *Job-work* never fails ;
At all his old Acquaintance rails ;
Holds every Doctrine now in Fashion ;
That *Debts* are Blessings to a Nation ;
That *Bribery*, under *Whig*-Direction,
Is needful to discourage Faction ;
That *standing Armies* are most fitting
To guard the Liberties of *Britain* ;
That *France* is her sincerest Friend,
On whom, she always should depend ;
That *Ministers*, by Kings appointed,
Are, under them, the *Lord's* anointed ;
Ergo, it is the self-same Thing,
To oppose the *Minister*, or *King* ;
Ergo, by Consequence of Reason,
To censure *Statesmen* is *High-Treason*.

In fine, his standing Creed is This ;
That right or wrong, or hit or miss,
No Evils can befall a Nation,
Under so wise a Ministration ;
That *Britain* is Sir *Blue-string's* Debtor,
And *Things* did surely ne'er go better !

So the plain country Girl, untainted,
Nor yet with wicked Man acquainted,
Starts at the first leud Application,
Though warm perhaps by Inclination,
And swears she would not with the King,
For all the World, do such a Thing ;
But when, with long, assiduous Art,
Damon hath once seduc'd her Heart,
She learns her Lesson in a trice,
And justifies the pleasing Vice,
Calls it a natural, harmless Passion,
Implanted from our first Creation,
Holds there's no Sin between clean Sheets,
And lies with every Man she meets.



AN EXCELLENT
NEW BALLAD,
 CALLED,
A Bob for the C—t.

To the TUNE of, *In the Days of my Youth—*
In the first Part of the BEGGAR'S OPERA.

I.

YE Poets, take Heed how you trust to the Mask,
 What Words to make Choice of, and what to refuse,
 If she hint at a Vice of political Sort, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's a Bob for the C—t, fa, la.*

II.

Corruption, Ambition, Pomp, Vanity, Pride *fa, la.*
 Are Terms, that by Guess-work are often apply'd; *fa, la.*
 To quote HORACE is thought meer Derision and
 Sport; *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's a Bob for the C—t, fa, la.*

III.

If *Congress* is nam'd, you must mean it a Slap; *fa, la.*
 The City of *Seissons* blot out of your Map; *fa, la.*
Offend is a Word of such doubtful Import, *fa, la.*
Application cries out, *That's a Bob for the C—t, fa, la.*
 IV.

IV.

If *Truce*, or *Galleon* in your Writing appears, *fa, la*.
 The Word *Cardinal* mars our foreign Affairs; *fa, la*.
Gibraltar avoid; if you mention that Port, *fa, la*.
Application cries out, *That's a B o b for the C—t, fa, la*.

V.

Secret Service you never should venture to write, *fa, la*.
 'Twill be said you would bring some dark Matters to
 light; *fa, la*.
 If you speak of our *Trade*, or ask what we *Export*, *fa, la*.
Application cries out, *That's a B o b for the C—t, fa, la*.

VI.

If *Macheash* you should name, in the midst of his *Gang*,
fa, la.
 They'll say 'tis an Hint you would *Somebody* hang; *fa, la*.
 For *Macheash* is a Word of such evil Report, *fa, la*.
Application cries out, *That's a B o b for the C—t, fa, la*.

VII.

The Word *Pension* you never should dare to repeat; *fa, la*.
 Shall bold, paltry Scribblers reflect on the *Great*? *fa, la*.
 As *Pensions* and *Bribes* swell the *Levee's* Resort, *fa, la*.
Application cries out, *That's a B o b for the C—t, fa, la*.

VIII.

If *Armies*, or *Debts* should escape from your Pen, *fa, la*.
 You may chance to offend several thousands of Men;
fa, la.
 For as *Taxes* are needful *standing Troops* to support, *fa, la*.
Application will cry, *That's a B o b for the C—t, fa, la*.

IX.

IX.

Now God bless King GEORGE; all his Enemies rout;
fa, la.
 All Those that are IN, and all Those that are OUT; *fa, la.*
 May true, honest Hearts be his Bulwark and Fort, *fa, la.*
 And so there's an End of a BOB *for the C—t. fa, la.*

Truth *and* Falshood.

A

F A B L E.

ONCE on a Time, in Sunshine Weather,
Falshood and *Truth* walk'd out together,
 The neighbouring Woods and Lawns to view,
 As *Opposites* will sometimes do.
 Through many a blooming Mead They pass'd,
 And at a Brook arriv'd at last.
 The purling Stream, the Margin green,
 With Flowers bedeck'd, (a vernal Scene)
 Invited each itinerant Maid
 To rest a while beneath the Shade.
 Under a spreading Beach they sat,
 And pass'd the Time with female Chat;
 Whilst each her Character maintain'd;
One spoke her Thoughts; the *other* feign'd.
 At length quoth *Falshood*, Sister *Truth*,
 (For so she call'd her from her Youth)

What,

What, if to shun yon sultry Beam,
 We bathe in this delightful Stream;
 The Bottom smooth, the Water clear,
 And there's no prying Shepherd near?—
 With all my Heart, the Nymph reply'd,
 And threw her snowy Robes aside,
 Stript herself naked to the Skin,
 And with a Spring leapt headlong in.
Falshood more leisurely undress'd,
 And, laying by her tawdry Vest,
 Trick'd herself out in *Truth's* Array,
 And cross the Meadows tript away.

From this curst Hour, the *fraudful Dame*
 Of sacred *Truth* usurps the Name,
 And, with a vile, perfidious Mind,
 Roams far and near to cheat Mankind;
 False Sighs suborns, and artful Tears,
 And starts with vain, pretended Fears;
 At *Court* appears extremely wise,
 And rolls, at *Church*, her Saint-like Eyes;
 Talks, in the *City*, much of Trade,
 And Seizures on the *Spaniards* made;
 Sometimes, in pompous, fustian Rhimes,
 Extols our blest *Saturnian* Times,
 Our Wealth and Power o'er *Europe's* Fate,
 And Wisdom in Affairs of State;
 Or, when the Nation quite on Fire is,
 Writes *Observations* and *Enquiries*.
 But most affects, in P———
 To state Accounts and represent;
 To prove that Two and Two make Seven,
 That White is Black, and Odds are Even;
 Pleads, as Time serves, for Peace, or War,
 And makes a Jest of *Gibraltar*;
 Speaks *pro* and *con*, like honest Y———
 And always sticks to what is *wrong*.

Mean while poor *Truth*, in this Distress,
 Robb'd of her old, engaging Dress,

Became,

336 A P P E N D I X.

Became, unhappy Maid ! the Sport
Of Country, City, Camp and Court ;
And, scorning from her Cause to wince,
Hath gone *stark naked* ever since.



A N

E P I G R A M.

OF the *Remora* lately much hath been said,
And how they retard our Fleet at *Spishead* ;
But, if I judge right, it is not confin'd
By the Strength of those *Fish*, but a CARDINAL Wind.



 THE
 HONEST JURY;
 OR
 CALEB Triumphant.

To the Tune of, PACKINGTON'S POUND.

I.

REJOICE, ye good Writers; your Pens are set
 free;
 Your Thoughts and the *Press* are at full Liberty;
 For your *King* and your *Country* you safely may write;
 You may say *Black is Black*, and prove *White is White*;
 Let no Pamphleteers
 Be concern'd for their Ears;
 For every Man now shall be try'd by his *Peers*.
Twelve good honest Men shall decide in each Cause,
 And be Judges of *Fact*, tho' not Judges of *Laws*.

II.

'Tis said Master *Caleb* a Paper did print,
 Which sometimes at *some Folks* look'd slyly asquint;
 He weekly held forth of *no Peace* and *no War*;
 So was forced from his *Trade*, to appear at the *Bar*.
 Thus for talking too free,
 Master *Attor—ney*

Strain'd his Lungs for to set him in the *Pillory*.
 But *Pillories* now shall be raised for the Shame
 Of *some Rogues*, whom yet 'tis not proper to name.

Vo L. V.

F f

III.

III.

You may call the Man *Fool*, who in Treaties does
blunder,
And stile Him a *Knaave*, who his Country doth plunder.

If the *Peace* be not good, it can ne'er be a Crime
To wish it were *better*, in Prose, or in Rhyme ;
For Sir *Philip* well knows
That *Innuen*—does

Will serve him no longer in Verse, or in Prose;
Since *twelve honest Men* have decided the Cause,
And were Judges of *Faith*, tho' not Judges of *Laws*.

IV.

Twelve Judges there are, and *twice twelve Aldermen*,
Many *Lords*, many *Members*, and *Bishops*——
What then?

Although you should travel all *England* around,
Amongst them *twelve honest* cannot be found
Than this same *Fu*—ry,

Which set *Caleb* free,
And brought in their Verdict, *He was not Guil*—ty.
Then let these *honest Men*, who do pay Scot and Lot,
While Ballads are Ballads, be never forgot.

V.

This *Fury*, so trusty and Proof against *Rhino*,
I am apt to believe to be *Furs Divino* ;
But 'tis true in this Nation (oh ! why is it so ?)
Men the *honest* are, as the *lower* you go.

So a Fish, when 'tis dead,
I have often heard said,
May be sweet at the *Tail*, though it stinks at the *Head*.
Oh ! may *Honesty* rise and confound the base Tribe,
Who will be corrupted by *Pension*, or *Bribe* !

VI.

VI.

A *Jury* there was, when the Pope was in Power,
 That brought out *seven Bishops* alive from the Tower;
 They saved our Religion from *Jacobite* Fury;
 Both That and King *George* then we owe to a *Jury*;
 So Those, that brought out
 The *Bishops*, no doubt,
 'Brought in our King *George*, who's so gallant and stout;
 Then sure 'tis the Interest of *Country* and *King*,
 That *Juries* should never be led in a String.

VII.

Thus far honest *Duncan* hath prophesied right,
 And prov'd himself blest'd with the true *Second-Sight*,
 Who though deaf and dumb, in *Astrology* famous
 As *Partridge*, poor *Robin*, or old *Nostradamus*,
 Did lately divine
 That *Caleb* should shine,
 And prevail o'er his Foes in the Year *Twenty-nine*;
 For *twelve honest Men* have determin'd his Cause,
 And rescu'd from Quibbles our old *English Laws*.

VIII.

But one Thing remains, his Predictions to crown,
 And That is to see the *Leviathan* down;
 Nor let us despair; for the Year is not out,
 And a Month or two more may bring it about;
 Then in Chorus let's sing,
 And say God blest the King,
 And grant that all Those, who deserve it may swing!
 If *twelve honest Men* were to judge in this Cause,
 One good Verdict more might secure all our Laws.





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